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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

POLISH IMMIGRATION TO ALBERTA SINCE 1980: DETERMINANTS AND CONSEQUENCES

BY

DELALI MARGARET BADASU

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1990

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled POLISH IMMIGRATION TO ALBERTA SINCE 1980: DETERMINANTS AND CONSEQUENCES submitted by DELALI MARGARET BADASU in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

.....
(Dr. L. A. Kosinski, Supervisor)

.....
(Dr. O. F. G. Sitwell)

.....
(Dr. A. Matejko)

Date : September 30, 1991

ABSTRACT

Political strife and increased economic crisis which had begun earlier in communist Poland resulted in massive emigration from the country during the 1980s. Canada has been a major destination for the Polish emigrants as it was in previous times. Alberta has been the second largest destination of the Polish immigrants, after Ontario, during this period. Edmonton and Calgary attracted between 85 and 87 percent of those coming to province.

This study examines the determinants and consequences of Polish immigration to Alberta between 1980 and 1989. Based on a field survey and secondary sources of data the study found that the Polish-Albertan immigration during the 1980s was determined by four sets of factors: (1) political and socioeconomic conditions in Poland; (2) opportunities for temporary emigration to third countries, enhanced by the country's geopolitical position; (3) Canada's immigration policy; (4) and the presence of Polish community in Alberta, resulting in sponsorship of their families, and fellow country people from Poland.

Indirect emigration was a prominent feature of the Polish immigration to Alberta during the period. This was due to the communist government's restriction on emigration from Poland. In the majority of cases, their migration path is rather complicated and involves a lengthy stay in a third country before reaching their final destination.

The immigrants are predominantly of urban background. Over sixty percent of them came from Warsaw, Lodz, Szczecin, Poznan, Gdansk, and Katowice alone. These cities are some of the largest cities of Poland. They are highly educated and have greater proportion in the managerial and professional occupational groups than their predecessors. These highly skilled immigrants have however found it difficult to practice the occupational skills that they acquired prior to their emigration, due mainly to the lack of accreditation of their educational qualifications or certificates. Only thirty-five percent of them are in occupations that are commensurate with their educational qualifications and occupational skills. The migration process has had a negative impact on the socioeconomic status of the majority of the immmigrants. With the passage of time however, some have been able to improve upon it.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. The Problem

Migration, as a phenomenon and a field of study, has been of great interest to social scientists, planners, and decision-makers for some decades now. Planners and decision-makers have been concerned with the socioeconomic, political, and environmental implications of migration for development and planning, in both places of origin and destination. A relatively recent interest of geographers in the study of spread and diffusion of phenomena, such as innovations, information, and people over space and time (generative processes) has encouraged geographical study of migration by modern geographers. But it is the multi-faceted nature of migration, providing unlimited scope for research in several disciplines, which generally accounts for the interest of several social disciplines in the subject.

The various disciplines have however adopted different approaches to the study of the subject and have also focused on specific aspects thereof. In other words, different lines of inquiry have been followed and particular sets of principal migration variables have received emphasis in different disciplines. For instance, demographers are interested in the selectivity of migration and the role of migrants in the evolution of populations. Economists concentrate on the determinants and impacts of labour mobility on labour markets at both the origin and destination of migrants, since migration of labour is an important component of resource redistribution. Sociologists focus on career and life-cycle interpretations of an individual's propensity to migrate. Geographers have traditionally been interested in the spatial aspects of migration. They have been largely responsible for analyses of migration with regard to distance, direction of migration flows, size and interconnectiveness of places of origin and destination, information fields, and intervening opportunities between alternative destinations (Shaw 1975).

Since knowledge about migration has been discipline bound, the development of a generally acceptable theoretical framework for the subject has been rather difficult. The field of migration studies has a large volume of unintegrated studies on particular age, education, occupation, family, and ethnic

subgroups. They cover different types of geographical units - continents, countries, provinces etc.; and also include different types of movements - rural-rural, urban-rural, interurban, interprovincial etc.. Again, they have been carried out in different spatio-temporal contexts with diverse interpretations of even some common terms. There are therefore few generalizations even about some frequently occurring factors that have been found to be associated with some characteristic patterns of migration. The development of a general migration theory based on the various works must be an arduous task. Stone (1971, 76) aptly expressed concern over the situation when he said:

> Almost all of what has passed for substantive theory in the literature about migration (formulated prior to the specification of "explanatory" functions, variables and parameters) is a sequential listing of factors believed to be relevant in explaining migration. With the citation of each factor, there is usually some statement of reasons why the factor is cited; but there is no theory aboutsimultaneous interaction of the factors, and no attempt is made to formulate general causal models in which the listed factors appear as aspects of the causal mechanisms.

Shaw (1975, 6) also cautioned that:

> Clearly, failure to impose some restrictions on our conceptualization of migration is bound to confound efforts to generalize about determinants of more contemporary migration phenomena.

But an advantage of this situation has been recognized by a number of researchers and writers, such as Kosinski and Prothero 1975, Wong 1979, White and Woods 1980. They have observed that migration studies can be greatly enhanced if an interdisciplinary approach to the study is adopted. This is acceptable because none of the various disciplines provides an adequate methodology and a set of research tools for the study of all aspects of migration. Kosinski and Prothero (1975, 1) thus appropriately said:

> "Although migration is an especially attractive research area for a geographer, the development of migration studies owes much to interdisciplinary efforts and it is impossible to draw sharp lines between different contributions."

In view of the above discussions, an interdisciplinary approach will be used in the present study to examine the determinants of the migration, migratory flows, and impacts of the migration experience on the socioeconomic life of the immigrants. It is obvious that a study of such aspects of migration requires not only geographical techniques but also demographic analysis and sociological considerations, among others.

In addition to the methods established in the field as a whole, this study draws on earlier research devoted to aspects of the migration of Poles to Canada (Kogler 1969, 1976; Radecki and Heydenkorn 1976; Dunin-Markiewiecz 1976; Avery and Fedorowicz 1982; Renkiewicz 1982; Matejko 1982, Matejko 1985). In each of these studies, the writers opened their discussions with a historical account of the political and socioeconomic conditions which caused emigration from Poland. They then proceeded with the analysis by using different statistical, demographic, geographical, etc. techniques to describe the patterns and flows of the immigration from Poland to Canada at various times. Sociological and psychological methodologies were used to describe the adaptation experience of the immigrants in the new country.

The novel feature of the present study is that the nature and determinants of the actual journey of the immigrants from Poland to Alberta will be given a special consideration. The role of third countries in the connectivity of Poland and Alberta in particular was examined.

A review of the available literature on recent Polish migration to Canada shows that the basic problem many Polish immigrants faced during the 1980s was "passage", that is getting out of Poland and entering Canada (Radecki 1979, Kosinski 1985, Makowski 1987). It was not completely impossible to emigrate from the country but rather difficult and expensive. There were two main factors responsible for the situation.

Firstly, the Polish government (like many other communist governments) put a number of restraints on emigration from the country for many political and economic reasons, except in those cases where it wished to get rid of politically "undesirable" elements of the population. Government policy regarding emigration was therefore an obstacle which many potential emigrants from Poland had to grapple with.

Secondly, the economic circumstances of the average emigrant made it difficult for him to pay for his travel expenses and also obtain a Canadian visa for a landed immigrant status in Canada. Poland has had a number of economic problems which have resulted in falling living standards since the late 1970s. Many Polish immigrants therefore made their journey through a third country, where

opportunities for temporary stay and further emigration were possible, before finally getting to their destination. The need to investigate the nature and determinants of the immigrants' journey in this study cannot be overemphasized.

Purpose and Objectives of the Study

The purpose of this research is to study the pattern of Polish immigration to Alberta since 1980. The general objective is to examine the determinants of the migration, migratory flows, and impacts of the migration experience on the socioeconomic life of the immigrants.

Research on migration, irrespective of the line of inquiry, provides evidence that migration is selective of age; sex; occupational, educational, and family status; and other socioeconomic characteristics (though the differentials may not always be consistent due to a number of factors). The characteristics of the immigrants will be examined to identify and explain any patterns that may be discovered.

Migrants usually move from their places of origin to new destinations for a number of reasons. Several models, such as the "push-pull", the "place-utility", and "migration-motives" frameworks have been used to explain why people migrate (Wolpert 1965, 1966; Lowry 1966; Taylor 1966, 1969; Todaro, 1969). The reasons why the immigrants left Poland and decided to settle in Alberta will also be explored.

As discussed in the previous section, the immigrants' decision to migrate did not depend on the conditions in Poland alone. The relative importance of the three sets of variables associated with their migration decision - factors at the origin, factors at the destination, and opportunities for temporary stay and further emigration in other countries will be investigated.

The study will also identify and map the origin of the immigrants, their migration path from Poland to Alberta, and their intended destination in Alberta. The determinants of the patterns threof will be examined.

Finally, the impact of the migration on the immigrants' socioeconomic life will be analyzed.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses will be tested:

1. the geopolitical position of Poland and the political processes taking place in that country were both positive and negative factors in the Polish migration to Alberta during the 1980s;

2. the push and pull factors at the origin and destination, respectively, were not sufficient to initiate migration decision; the opportunities for a passage through the third countries played a dominant role in the Polish-Albertan migration;

3. though the reasons for migration are predominantly political other socioeconomic factors influenced the immigrants' decision to leave their country and settle in Alberta;

4. the economic characteristics of the immigrants determined their intended destination in Alberta; and

5. the economic adaptation of the immigrants has influenced their socioeconomic status in Alberta.

B. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The methodology of the study was determined by the nature of the migration variables which were investigated and the purpose of the study. The resources available for the study, time constraint, and the intended audience for the research findings were also taken into consideration.

Migration is both an event and a process. The event, which is the move, occurs at a particular point in time when the migrant changes his physical location. The process, however, starts from the stage of decision-making and runs indefinitely into the period after the move. During it there are consequences of the migration for the migrant, for the places of origin, and for the destination. In this study, both aspects are taken into consideration.

The research is an academic enquiry but there are also practical considerations with regard to the sponsors of the study. The Alberta Department of Multiculturalism; the Canadian Polish Congress, Alberta Branch; the Polish Culture Society in Edmonton, all of whom provided a generous financial

support for the research will hopefully benefit from the research findings.

Data Sources

There are two main sources of statistical data and information available to geographers for any research: documentation and fieldwork (Sheskin, 1985). Documentations consist of primary and secondary documents. Primary documents are publications and correspondence of government departments, organizational memoranda, personal diaries, and the like while secondary documents are derived from information in books, bulletins, journals, and other types of publications. Data and information from fieldwork can be gathered by conducting interviews or by direct observation. This study made use of all the above sources of data and information (Table 1.1).

The principal sources of data on immigration to Canada are Immigration Statistics, published by the Department of Employment and Immigration since 1977 and census reports by Statistics Canada.

The Immigration Statistics were published at earlier dates by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration (1956-1965) and Department of Manpower and Immigration (1966-1976). The statitics in this publication are published annually and they provide information about the origin of immigrants, their selected characteristics, and their intended destination and occupation in Canada (Table 1.1). The origin of immigrants has been presented in three different ways - as country of last permanent residence, country of birth, and country of citizenship. The data on these three types of origins differ since they refer to different categories of people. For immigrants from a country such as Poland, where restrictions on emigration and other related problems (as discussed above) have made it difficult for immigrants to come from there as country of last permanent residence, the differences between it and the two other types of data are substantial. The data on ethnic origin of immigrants which eliminates this "problem" was published prior to 1963. Such data would have been excellent for the present study since it is interested in immigrants from Poland who are of Polish ethnic origin.

The data on ethnic origin of immigrants are cross-tabulated with age, sex, and intended occupation, destination (province, and city from 1986). A cross-tabulation of provincial data by ethnic origin appeared only in 1983. The author therefore solicited data on Polish ethnic immigrants who

arrived in Alberta during the 1980s from the Departmental working files of Employment and Immigration (Alberta provincial office) and Alberta Career Development and Employment.

The quinquennal censuses of Canada includes a number of questions related to migration history of the enumerated population. They include place of birth, place of residence five years prior to the census date, and citizenship of immigrants.

The Immigration Statistics and census data are good for many purposes but both have some limitations in terms of the present study. They do not contain information on many variables that are central to the migration process itself, which is a major component of the present study. These include the factors of migration, the reasons and motives for migration, the factors associated with the migration path of the immigrants, and the adaptation of immigrants to their new country. Furthermore, some of the characteristics of the immigrants are not presented in the types of groups required. For example, the classification of immigrants by age, sex, marital status, intended occupation etc. are not provided for each province by origin of immigrants. Classifications by broad groups are generally of little use for studies on a micro scale such as the present study. Thus these sources are of limited use in studying the characteristics of the immigrants. Moreover, they provide data that are cross-sectional or show changes in the number of immigrants whereas immigration has deep historical roots for many countries, including Poland. Many international migration movements rest on dynamic social processes that develop overtime (Zolberg 1989). Neither of these sources are able to chart the factors which underlie the growth and development of networks overtime.

Further sources of data and information were therefore consulted. They include publications of the Government of Alberta, Alberta provincial offices of the Department of Employment and Immigration, Alberta Department of Immigration and Settlement, Alberta Department of Multiculturalism, and issues of Alberta Report, The Edmonton Journal, Calgary Herald, and other Canadian and international newspapers.

Archival material and other publications of the Canadian Polish Congress, Alberta Branch, were useful sources of information, especially on Poland and the Polish community in Alberta and Canada.

Finally, a number of important publications on Poles in Canada and elsewhere, located in public libraries and in the private libraries of Poles in Edmonton, were explored.

Table 1.1 Sources of Data for the Study

Variables	Canada Immigr. Stats.	Canada Census Report	Alberta Career Dev. and Empl.	Field Survey	Home Interviews
Origin:					
Country of last perm. residence	x	x	x	x	x
Country of citizenship	x	x	x		
Country of birth	x	x			
Characteristics:					
Age	x	x	x	x	
Sex	x	x	x	x	
Occupation	x		x	x	
Education	x		x	x	
Marital status				x	
Immigration Class	x		x	x	
Year of immigration		x		x	
Destination	x		x	x	
Migration path				x	x
Adaptation				x	x

Not all the data required for the study were not available from these sources. Much retrospective information on immigrants in particular could only be obtained from a survey.

A field survey, based on a questionnaire (a total of 300 were mailed), was therefore undertaken in December 1989 and January 1990 to collect data and information to supplement those taken from the other sources. A pilot survey was first carried out; it was followed by the main survey. An in-depth home interview was also conducted to obtain some detailed information required on some subjects of the study that could not be included on the survey questionnaire. Fifteen people were thus interviewed.

Methods

The traditional scientific model for research has been used by social scientists for many decades now. It is one that emphasizes collection of data, analyzing it by using objective measurements, and drawing conclusions based on the relationships that have been established.

Geographic phenomena, such as migration, occur within a complex environment of interrelated phenomena. The population or universe which is to be studied must be defined so that relevant information can be extracted from it (Stoddard 1982). The whole population is seldom studied, however, because it is impossible or impractical to collect data from each individual even when the researcher has unlimited time and resources. A representative sample of the population is therefore selected. The aim of a sample survey is to reveal information about a complex population so that meaningful statements can be made about the entire population, with some degree of confidence. The major task in sampling is therefore to employ procedures that guarantee representativeness, that is to select a small number of representative individuals from the population in some random or pseudo-random manner (Stoddard 1982, Sheskin 1985). Appropriate sampling techniques must be used to ensure that research objectives are achieved.

There are three important issues which must be considered in any sampling activity: sample size, sample frame, and sample design.

1. Sample size: Though representativeness of a population is influenced by its size, the critical consideration in determining the sample size is the balance between accuracy and cost. To determine this balance, the variance of the population (subgroup analysis), the desired level of confidence, the geographical distribution of the phenomenon, and time available for the survey must be taken into consideration. The variability of these factors from one research to another is so considerable that there have been deviations from the often cited rule-of-thumb sample of 5%.

2. Sample frame: The sampling frame is the structure for identifying and listing the units comprising the population. The problems which the researcher must overcome are possible omissions and duplications. A list of dwelling units with services, telephone directories, and census reports, are some of the sources

which are helpful for listing the population to be studied.

3. Sample design: The sample design is the procedure for selecting members of the sample from the total population. There are two main types: probability sampling in which each sampling unit has equal probability of inclusion, and non-probability sampling which does not necessarily require randomization. Non-probability sampling procedures are usually adopted in cases where it is impossible to develop a good sampling frame to list all the members of the population from which the sample can be selected. It has been employed in many migration studies for this reason.

The population studied in this research is composed of the Polish immigrants who came to Alberta during the 1980s and who were, or who are now of working age (at least 18 years). A complete listing of all the members of the population under investigation could not be compiled from any of the sources explored for this research (those sources listed in Table 1.1). The data obtained from Immigration Statistics and Alberta Career Development and Employment showed that Edmonton and Calgary were the intended destinations of between 85 and 87% of immigrants settling in this province. The sample was therefore drawn from the immigrants in these two cities because the remainder were scattered in several towns and rural communities, in very small numbers.

A non-probability sampling design was used to get a targetted sample of 300 respondents (individuals, not households) from the Polish immigrants aged between 18 and 65 years who arrived in Alberta in the 1980s. A snowball sampling procedure was used. By this procedure a list of the members of the population being investigated was procured by the contact persons who handed the questionnaire to them. These in turn identified more members of the population for the same purpose. This continued till the target number was obtained.

A kind of purposive sampling was introduced into the snowballing procedure. A number of the contact persons were instructed to give the questionnaires to a certain number of the immigrants in some specified age, educational, occupational, etc. groups. The year of immigration was also taken into consideration. The aim was to get a sample with composition which is comparable with those by Employment and Immigration Statistics and Alberta Career Development and Employment. This was

not, however, achieved and the respondents cannot therefore be considered as a representative sample

Table 1.2 Age Composition of Respondents Compared to that of all Polish Immigrants Studied

	Percentage Composition	
Age	All Immigrants Studied	Respondents in the Survey
18-29	44	23
30-44	43	65
45-59	8	12
60 and over—	5	0
18 and over	**100**	**100**

Source: a. Alberta Career Development and Employment 1989
b. Field Survey, December 1989 and January 1990

of the total population being studied. As can be seen from Tables 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4, the age, educational, and occupational composition of the respondents are different from those by the Alberta Career Development and Employment, which is shown as "All Immigrants Studied".

The age composition of the respondents indicates an over-representation of the age groups 30-44 years and and 45-59 and an under-representation of all the others.

With regard to educational status, there is over-representation of those of high educational status among the respondents. While those with university education formed less than 20% of all the immigrants studied, they formed 52% in the case of the respondents. The over-representation of those with Master's degrees is particularly striking (Table 1.3).

The occupational composition also shows a substantial over-representation of those in managerial professions and the field of natural sciences and engineering among the respondents (Table 1.4).

It must be noted, however, that the sex composition of the respondents - 51% males and 49%

females - was comparable with that for all the immigrants studied - 54% males and 46% females.

Table 1.3 Educational Status of Polish Immigrants, 1980-1987, and Respondents in the Survey

	Percentage Composition	
Category	All Immigr. Studied	Respondents in the Survey
None	13	0
Secondary	45	20
Trade/Diploma	14	12
Other Non-University	10	12
Some University	4	4
Bachelor	11	9
Some Post-Graduate	< 1	4
Master's	2	32
Doctorate	1	7
All Categories	**100**	**100**

Source: a. Alberta Immigration and Settlement, 1989
b. Field Survey, December 1989 and January 1990

Since the characteristics of the respondents did not reflect those of all the immigrants studied, the respondents cannot be considered as a representative sample. The survey, however, offered insight into the process of Polish immigration to Alberta and the determinants and consequences thereof.

The survey was preceded by a field reconnaissance, the purpose of which was to gain an overall perspective and better understanding of the knowledge obtained from the literature reviewed and secondary sources of data and information consulted. A variety of activities were undertaken at this stage (eg. a visit to a Polish Roman Catholic Church and Poland's independence day celebration on November 18, 1989) to establish contacts with the Polish community in Edmonton and Calgary. The author's

Table 1.4 Intended Occupation of all Polish Immigrants to Alberta, 1981-1987; and Reported Occupation of Respondents in the Survey

	Percentage Composition	
Category	All Immigr. Studied	Respondents in the Survey
Management	0.7	5.0
Nat. Sc. & Engineering	16.2	31.0
Social Sciences	3.8	4.0
Religion	0.7	0.0
Teaching	7.4	4.0
Medicine & Health	12.0	11.0
Arts, Literacy & Recr.	2.3	6.0
Sports & Recreation	0.6	1.0
Clerical & Related	26.9	8.0
Sales	3.2	2.0
Service	10.2	8.0
Farming	2.4	0.0
Processing	2.3	1.0
Machining & Related	0.8	1.0
Product Fab, etc.	7.4	4.0
Construction	0.7	2.0
Material Handling	1.1	0.0
Other Crafts & Equipment	0.5	2.0
Others	0.8	11.0
All Categories	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: a. Alberta Immigration and Settlement, 1989
b. Field Survey, December 1989 and January 1990

supervisor, who is a Polish-Canadian, provided assistance in making the initial contacts. Few contacts were made at first. Then a chain of contacts resulted as each person contacted also helped in making more contacts. Soon, the author was in contact with a wide variety of members of the Polish community. They included both those who were being studied and those outside the study population who assisted the author in various ways during the fieldwork. One such person helped the author to get in touch with a professor from the Polonia Research Institute at the Jagiellonian University, Poland, who was visiting Edmonton. In a special interview, she provided valuable information on the conditions associated with the recent emigration in Poland. Contact persons were also identified from (a) public and departments - Alberta Career Development and Employment; Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism; the Federal Department of the Secretary of State; Alberta Employment and Immigration; (b) Polish Ethnic Organizations - Canadian Polish Congress Inc., Alberta Branch, and Polish Cultural Society in Edmonton, and (c) other types of organizations which are involved with immigration activities - Catholic Immigration Society, and Edmonton Immigration Services Association. These contacts were useful for subsequent arrangements for carrying out the survey and related activities. The research was also publicized through the help of the author's supervisor in the July 15, 1989 issue of Kulisy Polonii, which is a Polish ethnic bi-weekly magazine that serves Western Canada and is published in Edmonton. Publicity was given also to the research in the August 6, 1989 newsletter of Parafia M. B. Królowej Pokoju, which is an important Polish Roman Catholic church in Calgary. These publicities were aimed at drawing the Polish community's attention to the research.

A pilot survey which followed the field reconnaissance was carried out in September 1989. It consisted of a mailed questionnaire which served as a trial run to test the clarity of the following: the concepts stated in the research, the appropriateness of the procedures in the fieldwork, and the suitability of the variables considered in the research, as well as the techniques identified for data collection and analysis. A total of forty questionnaires were mailed out. Fifteen of them were returned, giving a response rate of 38%. An analysis of the returned questionnaires exposed the flaws, ambiguities, and weaknesses in the research design. It thus helped in the making of the revisions to the questionnaire

(its content and structure) for the main survey and the procedures for data collection and analysis. The pilot survey also led to the decision to have the questionnaire for the main survey in both English and Polish, because it was clear that the respondents' knowledge of English was sometimes limited.

The main survey was carried out in late December 1989 and early January 1990. A total of 300 questionnaires were sent out, of which 100 were returned, giving a response rate of 33%. Though the response rate of the questionnaire for both the pilot and main survey were below what was expected (50 - 60%), the returned questionnaire were completed thoroughly and a number of the respondents got in touch with the author by sending their addresses. They expressed the desire to provide any further information on the research. This enthusiasm on their part was helpful in getting the home interviews extended to include more of such willing people.

The questionnaire for the main survey solicited information for four main sections of the thesis: characteristics of the immigrants; migration reasons; nature and determinants of their migration path; and the consequences of migration and settlement in Alberta. The questions were not, however, grouped rigidly into any sections nor were the sections indicated (Appendix A). Migrants often have problems of recall when asked to provide answers to many retrospective questions. There were many such questions in the questionnaire. The questions were therefore ordered in such a way that related questions followed one another so that answers to previous questions could help to answer the succeeding one(s) as much as possible. The answers to some sets of the questions also provided derived information. This was a strategy adopted to avoid having a lengthy questionnaire which might discourage the respondents.

The Number Cruncher Statistical System (NCSS) and LOTUS computer programmes were used to analyze the data. There were three level of data analysis involved. First, there were cross-tabulations of the immigrants by their characteristics and othe. variables investigated - reasons for migration, third countries, family income, membership in Polish ethnic organizations etc. Then simple correlation analyses were done on the migration variables related to the adaptation process of the immigrants to discover the relationships among them. Multiple regression and other sophisticated statistical analyses

could not be utilized because there were many empty cells or too small number of observations for such analyses. Finally, cartographic techniques were employed to show the patterns and trends of the volume of immigration, migration paths, and other geographical variables investigated. The blend of statistical and geographical techniques produced an impressive visual as well as logical presentation of the findings of the study.

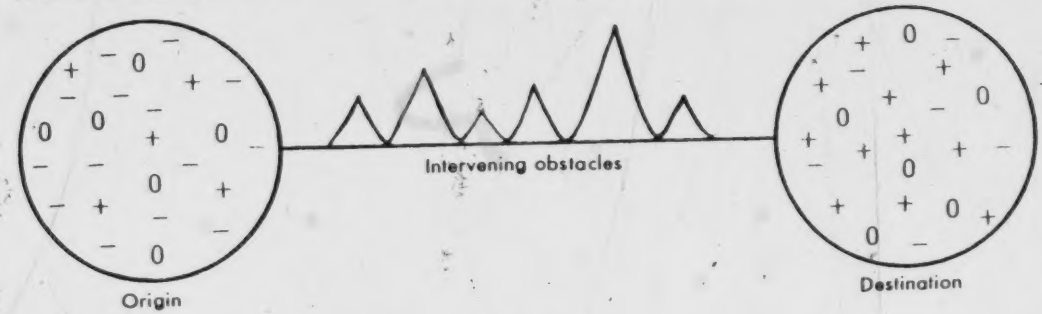
C. Literature Review

The discussion in this section is a summary of the theoretical basis of the study. There are many theories of migration in contemporary literature, due to the complexity of the phenomenon as well as the diverse conceptualizations of migration in different disciplines. Having been developed to explain internal migration processes, many of the theoretical formulations have little relevance for international movements. They have been discussed in detail in Appendix B. The purpose of this review was to provide an insight into the theoretical formulations and empirical trends on the subject of migration.

Ravenstein (1885, 1889) pioneered work on theoretical formulations in migration. He based his work on empirical studies done first in Britain and later in twenty other countries. He summarized his findings in what he called the "Laws of Migration", which are about the factors which cause migration, the patterns of migration streams, and the characteristics of migrants. His major findings are that migration is selective of certain characteristics of any population and that the principal causes of migration are economic.

After this initial effort, many theoretical frameworks have been developed to explain the migration process. One of these was Lee's (1966) general theory of migration, which was actually a restatement of Ravenstein's findings. He suggested that the decision to migrate and the process of migration can be conceptualized within the framework of factors associated with: i. the area of origin, ii. the area of destination, iii. intervening obstacles, and iv. personal factors (Figure 1.1). He then asserted that the factors at the origin and destination are positive, negative, and neutral. The intervening obstacles are distance, physical barriers, immigration laws, and related factors that impede the

FIGURE 1.1 ORIGIN AND DESTINATION AND INTERVENING OBSTACLES IN MIGRATION



Factors:

\+ Attracting or positive

0 Neutral

– Repulsing or negative

Source. After Lee, 1966

movement of migrants from their origin to their destination. Lee's theory basically helps to understand the mechanism by which migration occurs (Kosinski and Prothero 1975).

There are many other theoretical frameworks which seek to answer the basic questions White and Wood (1980,1) said must be answered in any migration research:

a. why does migration occur?

b. who migrates?

c. what are the patterns of the flows between origin and destination?

d. what are the effects of migration on the areas, communities, or societies that the migrants come from? and

e. what are the effects of migration on the areas, communities, or societies of destination?

All the relevant migration theories have essentially used either of two different philosophical approaches to answer these questions: the objective and the cognitive (White 1980, 6; Luciuk 1984). The objective approach seeks to measure the characteristics of the physical or cultural landscape that facilitate or impede mobility. The theories of the spatial and economic disciplines, among others, tend to concentrate on this. They do not generally consider how the potential migrant views the environment. Rather they impute the migration decision to migrants by observing certain processes in the environment that are associated with the event. They usually consider economic factors as the dominant causes of migration. The cognitive approach, on the other hand, seeks to appreciate human perception of the origin, the destination, personal characteristics and the intervening obstacles that are involved in the decision-making process. The behavioural methodology is the dominant one in this area.

The two approaches are basically complementary in the view of the author. However, they have all neglected some important aspects of international migration - government regulation of movements across national borders or immigration laws, and the historical context in which many international movements have taken place, such as the one being considered in the present study. Refugee movements, which have been significant components of contemporary international migration have also received little attention in all the theoretical frameworks.

The author of the present study examines migration of Poles from their country to Alberta from both philosophical points of view. Most of the theoretical formulations were however irrelevant for the discussions in the present study because they give little or no attention to the process of international migration. But some of the models provided the theoretical basis of the discussion of the topics considered in the study. Lee's (1966) framework on the factors of migration was useful in considering the factors at the origin (Poland) and destination (Alberta), as well as the intervening obstacles (such as national international migration laws) that influenced the Polish-Albertan immigration in the 1980s. Petersen's (1958) typology of migration was also adequate in discussing the forces that cause emigration from Poland, and the immigrants' motives for moving from their country and choosing Alberta as their new home. The behavioural frameworks were also useful in looking at the immigrants' perception of the conditions at the origin, their personal characteristics, and other factors that entered the decision-making process. Wolpert's (1965) place-utility theory and Taylor's framework about migrants' subjective perception and evaluation of their places of residence and the motivations which trigger off migration were the most applicable.

The pattern and trend of the Polish-Albertan immigration during the 1980s were determined by the laws and regulations existing in both Poland and in Canada. A review of some of the policies is provided below. As well some international processes affecting contemporary international migration (for example the increased control of movement across national boundaries and the response of nations to refugee problems) are considered. The historical context within which the emigration of Poles from their country has gone on since the last century is discussed in the next chapter. Zolberg (1989) and Salt (1989), among other writers in the field of migration, have noted that such factors must be relevant aspects of any research in international migration.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A. Poland

Polish immigration to Alberta (and to Canada as a whole) is not fully understood when considered solely in the context of contemporary factors which have influenced it. This is because many historical processes have affected the patterns and trends thereof. In this section, a brief account of the relevant historical factors is given.

Canada has been one of the major destinations of Polish emigrants during the present century. In terms of their number and times of arrival, different waves of Polish immigrants have been identified. The various waves have also been associated with certain political and socioeconomic conditions/events which took place in Poland and caused emigration from the country (Krychowski 1969, Romanko 1982, Palmer and Palmer 1985, Mankowski 1987).

The political processes in Poland that played important roles in emigration movements from the country date as far back as the early stages of the emergence of Poland as a state. The year 966 A. D. is generally accepted as the beginning of the Polish State, though its history goes back many centuries into antiquity (Osborne 1969, Radecki and Heydenkorn 1976, Avery and Fedorowicz 1982). In that year, local ruler Mieszko I adopted the Roman Catholic faith for his family and his domain. It was this religious faith that later fashioned the culture of the Polish society and unified them as a people.

However, during its subsequent history, Poland (and later a Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania) developed as a multinational and multicultural state with a parliamentary form of government and an elective monarchy. The Polish State allowed considerable freedoms to its subjects, but it did not have a strong central government. The nation was weakened further by factionalism, accentuation of class distinctions, and some basic defects of political and economic organization. So it "afforded an easy prey for her militarily strong neighbours" and was subjugated to their rule for several decades (Radecki 1979, 24).

In 1772, 1793, and 1795, Austria, Prussia, and Russia carried out three Partitions of Poland. The Third Partition resulted in the complete disappearance of Poland from the map of Europe until 1918,

when it gained independence from the three powers.

Only the small Duchy of Warsaw represented Poland as an independent state during the short interlude of the Napoleonic wars. This Duchy maintained limited autonomy following the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 as a so-called Congress Kingdom within the Russian Empire. Polish subjects repeatedly rebelled against their Russian rulers, but their insurrections (1830, 1863, 1905) were rather unsuccessful. Many repercussions followed, including social and religious repression, and total domination by the Russians. A number of programmes, aimed at the Russification of the Polish population, were introduced to suppress any further manifestations of Polish nationalism.

In the Prussian sector, conditions were not as bad until 1871. In that year, Bismarck launched a campaign including various plans and strategies, known collectively as "Kulturkampf", to Germanize the Poles or to evict them from their land and replace them with Germans.

In the southern areas ruled by Austria, known as Galicia, conditions were better for the Poles, particularly after 1848. They were granted some regional autonomy and various privileges in the area of education, religion, and economic development.

The long period of subjugation to the three powers had many implications for the economic development of the Polish territories, quite apart from the disintegration of Polish political and social life. In general terms, the foreign powers neglected economic development in the territories. However, the economic conditions were different in the three sectors. The Prussian sector enjoyed the highest level of development, followed by Russian Poland. The worst conditions were found in Galicia, which was experiencing population pressures on farmlands throughout this period. On the whole, the pace of development was too slow in all the territories to meet the employment needs of the growing population. (Meanwhile, this period coincided with the industrial revolution in Europe). Consequently, large numbers of Poles emigrated from the Polish territories to other parts of Europe and America, in search of better economic and political conditions. These emigrants were predominantly peasants who faced acute shortage of arable land or other means of sustenance. Others included political refugees, mainly from the Congress Kingdom. Economic conditions were the major causes of emigration from Poland

at this time, but the political pressures were also important considerations in the migration decisions.

An estimated 4.6 million Poles emigrated from their country between 1870 and 1914. The U. S. was by far the most important destination, attracting about 2.6 million of them. Over 100,000 came to Canada (Avery and Fedorowicz 1982).

The emigration movement from Poland went on even after the country gained independence in 1918. In fact, the effect of the First World War on the economy was disastrous. For many years between the World wars, the country was beset by serious economic, social, and political problems. The Polish economy was dominated at that time by foreign capital (particularly French, British, and American) and local private investors, who owned much of the country's wealth (Brumberg 1983). The majority of the people were still employed as farm workers or they owned small holdings which could barely support their families. The government introduced some land reforms during the years 1919-1937, but land crises continued to plague the majority of the peasants. About five to eight million peasants were still underemployed after the land reforms were introduced (Radecki 1979, 27). Meanwhile, the Great Depression took its toll on the Polish economy, just as it did on those of other countries. Industry could not absorb the surplus labour. Once again, thousands of Poles emigrated from their country in search of better lives elsewhere. These interwar emigrants were largely of farm and simple artisan background.

World War II ushered in another period of foreign invasion and occupation. Germany invaded Poland in September 1, 1939, thus marking the beginning of the War. The Soviet armies also invaded eastern Poland on September 17, 1939 (Lukas 1986).

Once again, Poland was divided by foreign powers. The western provinces were incorporated into the Reich, the eastern parts into the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Republics, and central Poland was made into a German-ruled province. The Polish people struggled against the invaders mainly through underground political and military organizations which were active throughout the war years. The largest of the underground forces was formed by the units of the Home Army (Armia Krajowa) which was loyal to the London-based Polish Government (Bethell 1969, Lukas 1986). The Polish

Government was formed first in Paris in 1939, following the collapse of Poland. But France fell in 1940 and the Polish Government was evacuated to England, wherefrom it directed the political and military activities in occupied Poland and elsewhere.

Throughout the war years, Polish society was exposed to the oppressive rule of Germany and the Soviet Union. In addition to massive arrests and executions, there were considerable movements of people within the occupied territories and beyond them. Thousands of Polish soldiers escaped from the Germans and the Russians and joined free forces in Syria, France, and England, and so fought against Germany. Many Polish Navy and Air Force personnel also escaped to France and later to Britain. Many more Poles were forced by the Germans or Russian forces to join their ranks. In addition to the prisoners of war, an estimated 1,000,000 were deported to Siberia and other parts of the Soviet Union. Many of them perished, including some 3,000, who were killed in Katyn Massacre (Lukas 1986, 72). Some 120,000 persons were later allowed to leave the Soviet territory via Iran. Most of these ended up in Western countries by the end of the war. Germany also sent about 2,500,000 forced labourers, including some prisoners of war into German camps. A few civilians also escaped from Poland to other neutral or friendly countries. There was thus a large exodus of population from the Polish territory during the war. A majority of these people returned to Poland after the war, but about 500,000 of them, who remained outside the country as refugees and political exiles, immigrated to various countries including Canada (Radecki 1979, 28). A total of 4,800 Poles arrived in Canada between 1947 and 1951. Among these were 4,527 Polish veterans admitted under a special programme to work on farms for at least two years. Many of these veterans were highly educated. Some came from middle and upper classes. They therefore had psychological and emotional problems as a result of the deterioration in their socioeconomic status. Most of them moved to cities as soon as their contract expired (Matejko 1985, 290). Direct immigration from Poland to Canada was reduced very considerably after the war. The post-war Polish Communist Government restricted emigration from the country until 1956 when the regulations were relaxed. In the early years, the Government appealed to the citizens to help in the enormous task of rehabilitating the war-devastated Polish economy, which required both physical and

human resources.

Poland suffered great human and economic losses during the war. Of the 35 million people in pre-war Poland, over 6 million perished. Of the 1.2 million in Warsaw alone, about 800,000 were killed in the siege of 1939, by extermination during the occupation and in the uprisings of 1943 and 1944 (Szczepanski 1970). It was mainly the educated or the elite of the Polish society who were killed. On the average, 54 percent of the area of cities and 70% of its industries were destroyed (Kosinski 1961, Schechtman 1962). Warsaw, Wroclaw, Szczecin, Gdansk, Zielona Gora and many cities in Pomerania suffered losses estimated at between 40 and 70 percent.

After the war, Poland's boundaries were redrawn following the discussions at the 1945 Yalta Conference and the Potsdam Agreements. The country lost 182,033 square kilometres in the east to the Soviet Union and gained 104,000 square kilometres, which is about a third of Poland's present land area, from Germany. The political future of Poland was also decided at the Yalta Conference by the three wartime leaders, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin. Essentially, Poland was to remain within the sphere of influence and "protection" of the USSR.

A Polish communist political and administrative body was also formed in the USSR in 1944, and was transformed into an interim government in 1945. The Polish Government in London refused to recognize the Yalta Agreement and maintained that it was the only legal Polish government. It enjoyed support from most sections of the Polish society, the Polish refugees and exiles and Polish communities in Canada and other parts of Europe and USA. Polish refugees represented about a third of all refugees stranded abroad at that time. But in course of time, the Polish Interim Government received recognition from many countries, including the Allies, and communist rule gradually gained grounds in Poland through the influence of Moscow (Brumberg 1983).

The Moscow-controlled regime introduced a number of reforms and adhered to the dictates of the USSR to establish the communist control in the political, social, and economic life of the country. State ownership and control of industry, agriculture (until 1956, when the agricultural collectives were abandoned), education, the mass media, etc. were the main instruments used to alter Polish society. The

communist leaders also curtailed religious and personal freedom in the country, and introduced a number of laws affecting the family and the class structure of the society.

The communist system was not accepted by the majority of the people because of its disregard for the Polish heritage, its identification with foreign power regarded as a traditional enemy, and its hostility to democratic institutions. There was a constant conflict between the people and the Church, on the one hand, and the State on the other. The communist leaders regarded the Church as its strongest opponent and tried to break its influence through political and administrative measures (Szczepanski 1970, 65). But the people remained loyal to the Roman Catholic faith and the Church itself. The Church also did not veil its anti-communist views. In fact, the Polish Church has been the strongest in the communist world (Makowski 1987, 267). Like people everywhere, the Poles like freedom, and hate orders and compulsion. They developed a democratic system of government very early in their history and have since adhered to its virtues (Los 1988).

The economic policy of the communist governments also did not win the favour of the people. During the early post-war years, the government adopted a massive industrialization policy aimed at the reconstruction of the devasted economy and its restructuring. Capital-intensive and heavy industry characterized the industrialization process. These were not without consequences. Ecological disasters, for example, abound in many industrialized regions (Kortus 1989, 40-41). There was demand for great sacrifices from the population for future benefits. The promised long-term benefits of this economic policy were not, however, realized because there were many defects in the overall economic organization under the communist rule which worked against a sustained economic development. These included strong centralization of planning and management, and the neglect of agriculture, consumer goods, and social infrastructure in economic and other policies.

These conditions were contrary to what the people had been promised under the communist ideology: social ownership of all the means of production, participation of all citizens in all decision-making processes, a rule of the people by the people. Meanwhile, there was a general mismanagement by those in power, and corruption was not uncommon, as a result of the inefficiencies and scarcities in

the economy.

Poland did experience some rapid socioeconomic development under the communist regimes' massive industrialization programme. In the 1970s, she was ranked as the eleventh industrial power and was basically self-sufficient in agricultural products. Illiteracy has almost been wiped out of the Polish society through the introduction of free education after World War II, as a component of the overall socioeconomic development programme. The 1980s, however have been a period of intense economic strife. The economy was declining at a rate of 2.5% during the early 1980s (CULTURGRAM 1984). The economic problems have been blamed on the general mismanagement of those in power.

The people first protested against the political and economic policies of the government in 1956, when some workers in Poznan went on a demonstration to show their dissatisfaction with the prevailing conditions. Protests by workers in 1970, 1976, and 1980 were all triggered by increases in food prices and shortages. The political unrests of 1980 gave birth to SOLIDARITY movement which united industrial workers with farmers, intellectuals, and church men. SOLIDARITY emerged as a nationwide opposition to communist rule in Poland, demanding what could be summed up in one word as "justice" for the people. The government, however, used force to break up strikes, and on many occasions refused to discuss economic and political reforms with the strikers or else did not honour its promises. By 1981, the political unrest in the country assumed such a proportion that the government imposed martial law on the population. Many anticommunist and SOLIDARITY activists were arrested and/or deported. Many also fled the country voluntarily and sought refuge elsewhere. The weaknesses of the Polish economy which developed gradually over the four decades after World War II played a major role in precipitating the political and the consequent economic crisis of the 1980s which in turn caused massive emigration from the country.

On December 16, 1981, the government of Canada responded to the martial law imposed on the Polish population by announcing that a virtually unlimited number of Polish refugees would be allowed to enter Canada (Makowski 1987). This announcement led to a massive influx of Poles into Canada. Their major destinations in Canada have been Ontario, Alberta, and Quebec.

B. Phases of Arrival in Alberta

Polish immigration to Alberta dates back to the last decade of the past century. In 1896, Sir Cliford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior at the time (who assumed direction of the Department of Immigration) welcomed East-Central Europeans to Canada's West to cultivate and develop the Prairies. Poles were among the pioneers in the Prairie provinces, where they took on farming and employment in the railway and mining industries which were in their early stages of development.

Not infrequently, the immigrants left Poland in the company of friends or relatives from one village or several villages in the same area. Most of them came from Galicia (south and south-eastern Poland), the most impoverished area of the then- partitioned Poland which had a rapidly growing population with a very high rural density. The pressure on agricultural land resulted in surplus farm labour, who, finding no opportunities in the limited secondary and service sectors, sought better opportunities elsewhere. They were of farm background and had little or no education. In Alberta, the first newcomers settled in the Beaverhill district (now Mundare).

The first phase of Polish immigration into the province of Alberta went on intermittently up to the mid-1920s. By 1921, there were 7,172 people of Polish ethnic background in Alberta. This was a rise of 170% from the 1901 level of 420 (Matejko 1978, Radecki 1979, Makowski 1987).

The onset of a second phase coincided with the implementation of the Quota Laws by the United States in 1924 to close mass immigration into its territory, and the subsequent great waves of East-Central European immigrants into Canada (Matejko 1975). This phase recorded a higher level of Polish immigration to Canada than the earlier phase, though it experienced some interruptions during the Great Depression of the 1930s, when some of them even returned to Poland or faced deportation as a result of the high rate of unemployment in Canada. By 1931, there were 21,157 Poles in Alberta, forming 2.9% of the population of the province. The majority of these immigrants were also of rural background.

The arrival of World War II and post-war Polish immigrants signalled the start of phase three.

At this time, "Canada emerged as one of the destination areas for both European and (subsequently) non-European migrants" (Kosinski 1980, 1). Unlike the immigrants of the first and second phases, who were primarily of rural background, those of the third phase had a high proportion of skilled and professional workers. They settled in cities, mainly Edmonton and Calgary. Over the years, the Polish population in Alberta increased in size and quality (occupational skill). The number of Albertans of Polish ethnic background increased from 26,845 in 1941 to 49,210 at the 1986 Census, thus forming 2.7 percent of the total population of Alberta. The main feature of this third phase was the reduction in the number of immigrants between 1951 and 1956, due to the restrictions on emigration from Poland, and during the early 1970s. The 1980s, however, recorded radical increases. During this decade, the opposition to the communist regime increased in various ways, and the conflict between the State and the people resulted in a massive exodus from the country.

Recent Canadian Immigration Policy

The history and culture of Canada has been largely formed by immigration. Immigration has been perceived as having a positive long-term economic and demographic impact, though some restrictions were put on immigration from certain geographical areas in the past (Passaris 1979, Beaujot 1988, Employment and Immigration Canada 1989).

Basic changes in the Canadian immigration policy were introduced in 1962, removing the racial barriers to immigration which characterised the previous immigration acts. In recent decades, immigrants have been admitted from all over the world, irrespective of their ethnic, religious, or racial background. The 1962 immigration regulations placed emphasis on the education, occupational skills, or other special qualifications of selected immigrants. Thus their selection favoured the highly skilled. In 1967, a new immigration Act came into force. It introduced the "point system" based on standards applicable to all applicants. This Act also provided for the aligning of immigration more closely to labour market needs.

Canada's immigration policy was subjected to a thorough review during the period 1973-1975,

resulting in a new Immigration Act in 1976, which came into effect in 1978. Section 7 of the Immigration Act 1976 states that:

> The Minister, after consultation with the provinces concerning regional demographic needs and labour market considerations and after consultation with such other persons, organizations and institutions as she deems appropriate, shall cause to be laid before Parliament, not later than the sixtieth day before the commencement of each calendar year or, if Parliament is not then sitting, not later than the fiftieth day next thereafter that either
> (a) the number of immigrants that the Government of Canada deems it appropriate to admit during any specified period of time; and
> (b) the manner in which demographic considerations have been taken into account in determining that number.

The high immigration levels which had continued from the prosperous 1950s were questioned in the light of the economic recession of the 1970s. Consequently, Canada established a target level for immigration on a year-to-year basis, as stated in the portion of the 1976 Immigration Act quoted above. Its impact may be seen in the marked decline in the number of immigrants from 218,465 in 1974 to 86,313 in 1978 (Employment and Immigration Canada 1987). Immigration targets were established in the range of 90,000-120,000 for the 1983-1986 period. In 1986, government announced that it was adopting a policy of moderate controlled growth in immigration levels to reestablish the whole immigration programme, which had suffered a record decline in admissions during the mid-1980s. The immigration levels were, however, to be determined subject to Canadian economic and labour market conditions. As a result, immigration targets were set at 115,000-125,000 in 1986, increased to 125,000-135,000 in 1988 and further to 150,000-160,000 in 1989.

To a large extent, therefore, the Canadian immigration policy has favoured high immigration rates during the second half of the 1980s and in the near future (Employment and Immigration Canada 1989). The selection procedure caters for the meeting of labour market conditions, in the sense that independent migrants have to meet certain requirements with respect to their educational, occupational, and other special abilities (Table 2.1).

Immigrants to Canada are selected under three classes: (1) family class, (2) refugee and designated class, and (3) independent class. While the selection criteria differ for the three classes, all immigrants admitted must pass medical examinations and are also subject to certain security and

background checks. Family-class immigrants are the parents and accompanying dependants or the intended spouses of Canadian citizens or permanent residents. The accompanying family members of a principal applicant include his/her spouse and all never- married children and children of never-married children. This class of immigrants is not subject to any selection criteria.

Convention refugees are those who meet the definition set out in the United Nations Refugee Convention and repeated in Canada's Immigration Act. Persons in refugee-like situations who are accorded the opportunity to resettle in Canada because they are displaced or persecuted or both are designated classes. They may not be able to meet the strict definition of "refugee" in the convention for technical reasons or other factors associated with their location at the time they desire to claim refugee status, e.g. persons still residing in their own countries. Immigrants from the communist countries, including Poland, have had a relatively high proportion classed as either Convention Refugees or Designated classes.

Those who are admitted to Canada in the economic stream are known as independent immigrants. They are divided into four main categories: assisted relatives, business immigrants (entrepreneurs, self-employed persons, and investors) and retirees. These are chosen according to the selection criteria - "point system" (Table 2.1).

Canada's immigration policy caters for the economic goals of the country, humnanitarian obligations towards Canadian citizens and residents, and also the international community's call for cooperation among countries to solve the refugee problem. In recent years, family, refugee, and designated classes formed about 60 to 65 percent of the annual number of immigrants admitted into the country. But there has been pressure on Canada to extend its obligations further towards refugees in particular and all immigrants in general. Canada's response to the conditions in Poland during the 1980s, by permitting large scale immigration of Poles into the country under a special immigration measure introduced in 1981-1982, could be seen as a positive response to such pressure.

The most recent wave of Polish-Canadian immigration started around 1980. Like the earlier waves, this one was caused by increased political strife and the consequent socioeconomic crises, which

had begun earlier in communist Poland. It was mostly the educated youth who left legally or otherwise

Table 2.1 Selection Criteria for the Independent Class

Education	12 maximum	
Specific Vocational Preparation	15 maximum	
Experience	8 maximum	0 units is an automatic processing bar
Occupation	10 maximum	0 units is an automatic processing bar unless applicant has arranged employment
Arranged Employment	10	
Age	10 maximum	10 units if 21 to 44; 2 units deducted for each year under 21 or over 44
Knowledge of Official Language	15 maximum	
Personal Suitability	10 maximum	Based on interview with Federal visa officer
Demographic (Levels Control)	10 maximum	
TOTAL	100	
PASS MARK	70	
Kinship Undertaking	10	If application is accompanied by an undertaking of assistance from relations in Canada

Source: Alberta Career Development and Employment 1989, 3

and ended up as either refugees or economic migrants choosing a variety of neighbouring countries, including Canada (Matejko, 1982).

Poland has been among the top-ten sources of immigrants admitted into Canada since 1981. In 1982, for example, it ranked third among them; it accounted for 6.8 percent (8,279) of the total annual number of immigrants admitted that year (EIC, 1983). The great majority of the immigrants (50-80 percent) settled in Ontario, Quebec, and Alberta. This study examines some aspects of the migration of the recent wave of Polish immigrants who came to Alberta during the 1980s.

III. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IMMIGRANTS

A. Introduction

Migration does not consist of movement of number of numbers but also the characteristics of the people - demographic, social, economic, etc.. Some of the characteristics of migrants are themselves associated with the decision to move, for example, age and educational status. The migration process itself has some impact on the socioeconomic characteristics of the migrant. Before we consider any of these aspects of the migration process we examine the characteristics of the immigrants.

The discussions in this chapter have been based on three sources of data which are indicated for every table and figure:

1. Immigration Statistics, published by The Department of Employment and Immigration, which covers all the Polish immigrants arriving (legally and documented) in Alberta during the 1980s, and other immigrants coming to Canada,

2. Data from Alberta Career Development and Employment, which covers only the immigrants who received their services, and

3. Data from the Edmonton and Calgary field survey which was carried out in December 1989 and January 1990. There were a total of 100 respondents to the survey questionnaire. As indicated in the section on data sources already, these two cities were the intended destinations of 85-87% of the Polish immigrants arriving each year in the province. The rest were scattered in other settlements in small numbers.

Annual Immigration Levels

A total of 6001 Polish immigrants were admitted into Alberta during the period 1980-1988. They accounted for 6% of all immigrants admitted into the province during that period (Table 3.1).

The highest annual numbers were admitted between 1981 and 1984, due mainly to the special measures introduced into the Canadian Immigration regulations in favour of Polish immigrants in response to special needs of large number of applicants from that country. Thus in 1982 alone, the

Table 3.1 Annual Number of Polish Immigrants Admitted to Alberta, 1980 to 1988

		Polish Immigrants	
Year	Total	Number	Percentage
1980	18,839	159	0.8
1981	19,332	797	4.1
1982	17,965	1492	8.3
1983	10,712	708	6.6
1984	10,711	623	5.8
1985	9,026	343	3.8
1986	9,712	569	5.9
1987	12,017	620	5.2
1988	13,934	690	5.0
1980-88	103,409	6001	6.0

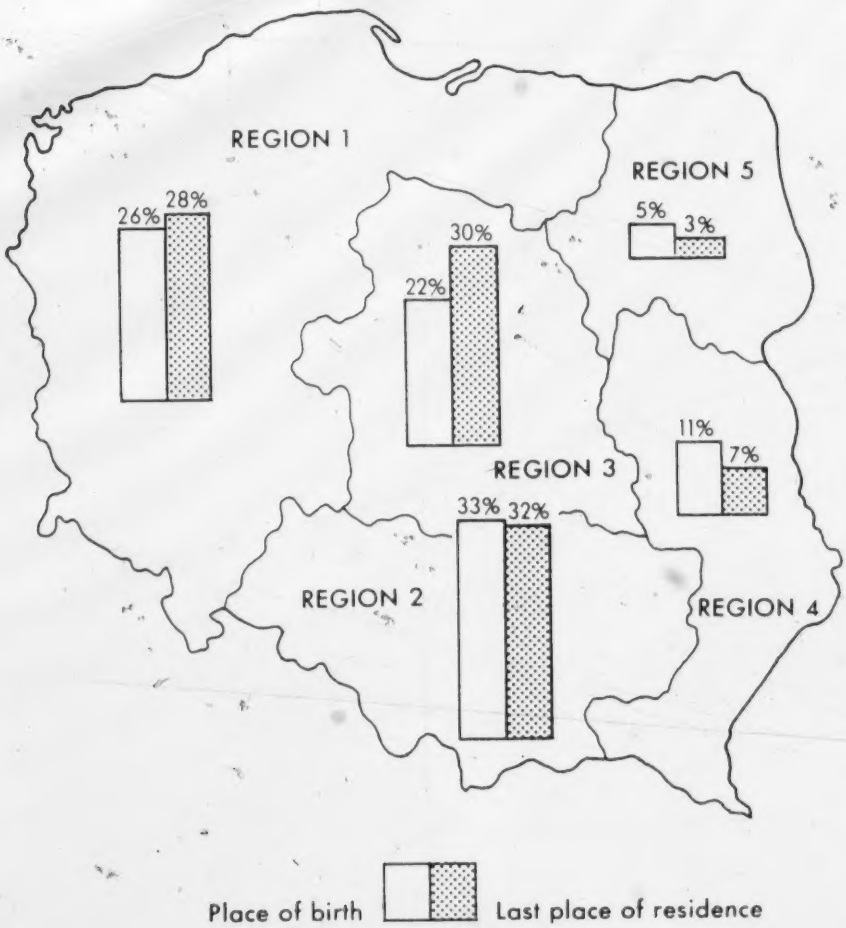
Source: EIC 1980-1988 (annual)

height of the execution of the martial law and forced emigration, 1,492 Poles came to Alberta, and they constituted 8.3% of all immigrants admitted into the province. The impact of the political factor underlying the emigration of Poles and Canada's response as stated above is reflected in the classes of immigration also.

Origin of the Immigrants

The immigrants came from almost all the provinces (voivodships) of Poland. But the majority of them came from three regions of Poland (demarcated by the writer): the North-Western (1), South-Central (2), and Central (3). These are the most urbanized and economically developed regions of Poland, and contain about 80% of the total population of the country. Ninety percent of the immigrants came from these regions as their last place of residence (Figure 3.1). These places were the most

FIGURE 3.1 ORIGIN OF POLISH IMMIGRANTS TO ALBERTA IN THE 1980'S, IN PERCENTAGES



Source: Alberta Field Survey, December 1989; January 1990

affected by the political upheavals and associated forced emigration. The largest antigovernment movements under the umbrella of SOLIDARITY, the Trade Union and antigovernment organization were also found there. Only 10% of the emigrants originated from the South-Eastern (4) and the North-Eastern (5) regions, though about 20% of the total population of the country was residing there during the period under consideration. Regions 4 and 5 are the least developed areas of Poland.

On the whole, the rate of emigration was about the same in only Regions 1, 2, and 3. Together, they accounted for more emigrants than expected from them, when their populations are compared with the number of emigrants originating from them. They had about 80% of the country's total population but accounted for 90% of all emigrants. We can conclude that the political and economic conditions which caused emigration from Poland during the 1980s affected all parts of the country but some were more severely affected than others. Those which were most affected experienced the highest rate of emigration. It is also possible that personal characteristics or individual subjective factors that affect the decision to migrate differed among the residents of the various regions, thereby producing different rates of emigration among them.

A comparison of the immigrants' place of birth with their last place of residence showed some differences between the two. As can be observed from Figure 3.1 again, the difference between the two places was highest in Region 3, where last place of residence exceeded place of birth by 8 percentage points, as compared to only 2 percentage points in Region 1. In the rest of the regions, place of birth exceeded last place of residence, and the difference was highest in Region 4. These differences seem to suggest that emigrants coming from Regions 4 and 5 have had some migratory experience prior to their emigration from Poland. They first went to more economically developed regions within the country and left for Canada later. The generally insignificant difference between place of birth and last place of residence of the immigrants is an indication of low internal migration in Poland. It has been observed by a number of studies that shortages of housing, decreasing job opportunities, and government indirect policy on internal migration have limited movement within the country (Brumberg 1983; Lijewski 1985; UN 1989).

The immigrants were predominantly of urban background. Eighty-eight percent were born in cities and towns and only 12% in rural communities. As many as ninety-two percent of the immigrants came from urban communities as their last place of residence in Poland. Most of them came from the largest cities of Poland. Over 60 percent came from Warsaw, Lodz, Szczecin, Poznan, Gdansk, and Katowice alone. In the Central Region (indicated as "3" on Figure 3.1), for example, Warsaw and Lodz were the only last places of permanent residence of all the immigrants. These cities are some of the largest cities of Poland. The drastic industrialization of Poland during the past forty-five years was accompanied by a rapid urbanization. A little over two-thirds of Poles live in urban communities today, compared to only one third during the early post-World War II years. This is why the immigrants are predominantly of urban background. Furthermore, most of the immigrants are highly educated and as such were residing in urban communities prior to emigration.

Classes of Immigrants

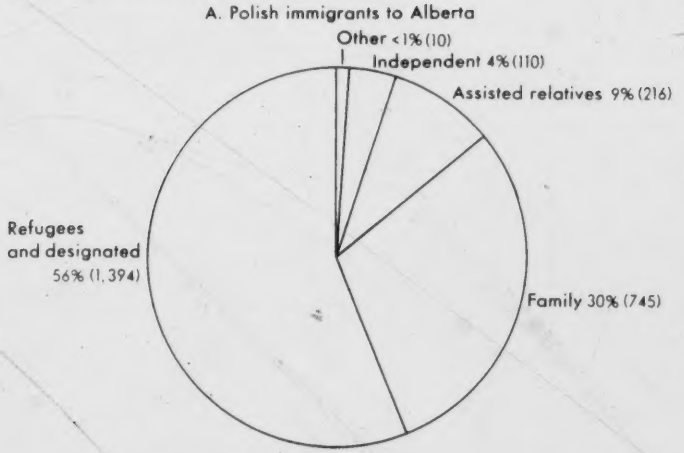
As many as 56 percent of the immigrants were admitted in the refugee and designated class. Another 30 and 9 percent came under family and assisted sponsorship, respectively. Independent immigrants accounted for only 4 percent of the total number (Figure 3.2a). Compared to all other immigrants to Alberta and Canada as a whole, Polish immigrants to the province have a higher proportion of refugees and designated classes. The proportion of independent immigrants was much higher among all immigrants during the same period (Figure 3.2b & 3.2c).

According to first-hand accounts (interviews) of the conditions under which the immigrants departed, most of them who could have come as independent immigrants did not have the opportunity to apply for travel documents. They therefore left for nearby countries where they either claimed refugee status before coming to Canada or were selected by the Canadian immigration authorities under the designated category. In addition, those who were forced by the government to emigrate were also admitted in the refugee class.

The presence of a large Polish community in Alberta also explains the admission of another

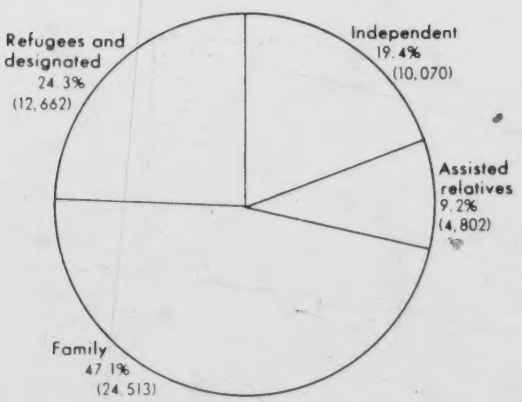
FIGURE 3.2 IMMIGRATION CLASSES 1980-1987

A. Polish immigrants to Alberta

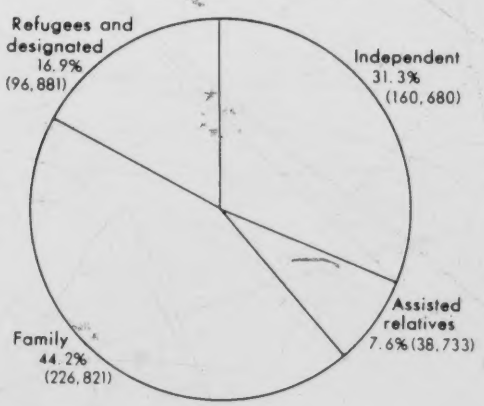


Source: Alberta immigration and settlement, 1989

B. All immigrants to Alberta



C. All immigrants to Canada



Source: EIC 1980-1987 (annual)

large proportion of the immigrants in the family and relative sponsored class. Polish-Albertans form between 2.5 to 3.5 percent of Alberta's population since 1951. A total of 76,720 people of Polish ethnic origin (paternal or maternal ancestral origin, not necessarily by citizenship or nationality) were enumerated in Alberta at the 1986 population census.

Age Composition

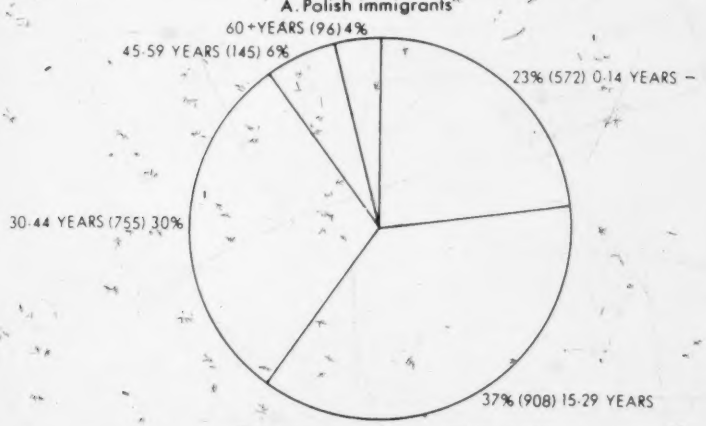
The immigrants were predominantly persons in their late teens, twenties, and early thirties. Thirty-seven percent of them were between the ages of 15 and 29. Another 30 percent were in the 30-44 age group. Only 10 percent were 45 years and above (Figure 3.3a). The Polish immigrants deviated somewhat in age from all other immigrants coming to Alberta from 1980 to 1987 (Figure 3.3b). The differences for age groups below 30 years are not significant. The proportion for the Polish immigrants is 60 percent compared with 58.9 percent for all immigrants. There was, however, much difference between the proportions in the age group 30-44 years, which was over-represented among Polish immigrants. Polish immigrants are under-represented in all age groups above 44 years. For age group 45-59 years, the proportion for all immigrants is one-and-a half times that for Polish immigrants. Again, those aged 60 years and over formed 9.7 percent of all immigrants while they constituted only 4 percent of Polish immigrants.

According to a number of sources (Canadian Polish Congress 1982, Perth-Grabrowska 1988), it was the young educated Polish citizens who had reacted vehemently to the political and economic conditions that prevailed in the country during the 1980s. Thus they formed the majority of those who left the country. As discussed in chapter 2, migration research irrespective of the line of inquiry corroborates the observation that there is greater tendency for young people to migrate as compared with the rest of the population.

The high proportion of children (0-14 years), 23 percent among the Polish immigrants, is explained by the large number of married young and family persons who were among the immigrants (as discussed in another section).

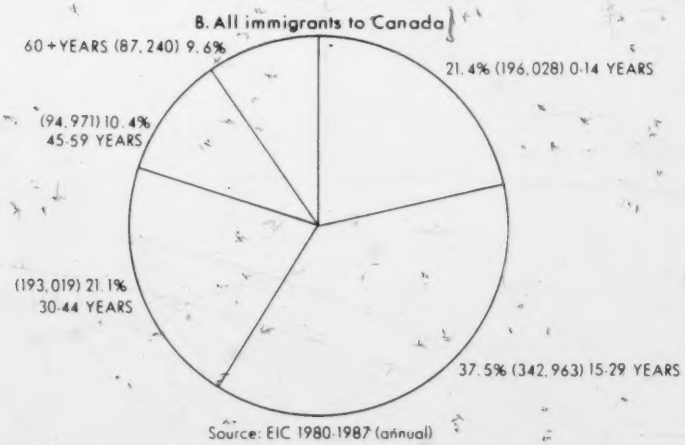
FIGURE 3.3 AGE COMPOSITION OF IMMIGRANTS 1980-1987

A. Polish immigrants



Source: Alberta immigration and settlement, 1989

B. All immigrants to Canada



Source: EIC 1980-1987 (annual)

Sex Composition

Overall, there were more males than females among the immigrants. But the sex differentials were not so marked as compared with other groups of immigrants. From 1981 to 1986, 54 percent of

Table 3.2 Distribution of Immigrants by Sex, 1981-1986

a. Polish Immigrants to Alberta

	Male		Female	
Year	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1981	420	52.7	377	47.3
1982	838	56.2	653	43.8
1983	349	49.3	359	50.7
1984	363	58.3	260	41.7
1985	182	53.1	161	46.9
1986	288	50.7	280	49.3
1981-86	**2,440**	**53.9**	**2,090**	**46.1**

b. All Immigrants to Alberta

	Male		Female	
Year	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1981	9,683	50.2	9,611	49.8
1982	8,887	49.5	9,061	50.5
1983	4,932	46.1	5,756	53.9
1984	4,909	46.0	5,761	54.0
1985	4,243	47.1	4,758	52.9
1986	4,641	48.0	5,032	52.0
1981-86	**37,395**	**47.8**	**39,979**	**52.2**

c. All Immigrants to Canada

	Male		Female	
Year	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1981	63,122	49.1	65,496	50.9
1982	59,498	49.1	61,649	50.9
1983	41,505	46.6	47,652	53.4
1984	40,944	46.4	47,295	53.6
1985	40,266	47.8	44,036	52.2
1986	49,120	49.5	50,099	50.5
1981-86	**294,455**	**48.1**	**316,227**	**51.9**

Source: a: Field Survey, December 1989 and January 1990
b and c: Employment and Immigration Canada, 1981-1986 (annual)

them were males and 46 percent were females (Table 3.2a).

The negligible sex differentials among the immigrants could be attributed to the high proportion of married persons among them. It was observed from the field survey that married persons came together with their spouses or were joined later by them.

The sex differentials among all immigrants who arrived in Alberta and the whole of Canada were the opposite of that of Polish immigrants (Table 3.2b and c). There were more females than males among these immigrants.

Marital and Family Status

The immigrants were predominantly married couples with or without children. Out of the 100 respondents, 63 indicated that at the time of emigration from Poland they were married, 2 were living with common-law partners, 9 were divorcees, and 15 were single. The rest did not provide information about their marital status. At the time of the field survey the composition of the immigrants by marital

status was the same as at the time of emigration, except that the number of those married had increased from 63 to 71. More than half of those married, 54 percent, had children at the time of emigration. The number of children in the families ranged from 1 to 4. Fifty percent of all the respondents with families had one child, another 25 percent had two children, and the rest had 3 or 4 children. The average family size of the respondents is 1.6, which is 23 percent higher than Alberta's average of 1.3 in 1986 (Alberta Bureau of Statistics 1990). Traditionally, Poles and other East European countries have large families due mainly to large agricultural sectors in their economies. High rates of industrialization and urbanization in the post-World War II economies of these countries have led to decline in their birth rates, especially in their urban areas. But the rates are still higher than those of many industrialized economies. The average family size of Poland was 3.1 in 1988. It has a Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of 2.1 in 1990. The average TFR for Eastern Europe is 2.0. These are higher than the average of all European countries which is 1.7, and that of Canada which is also 1.7 (Population Reference Bureau 1990). Since most of the immigrants are of urban background their family sizes are not too high.

The families of the majority of the immigrants were at the early stages of their life cycle at the time of emigration. Forty-four percent of all the families had children of pre-school ages (0-5 years), another forty-eight percent had children of elementary school ages (6-12 years). Only 8 percent had children of post-elementary school ages (13 years and over).

The number and age of the children of the Polish immigrants at the time of emigration were quite favourable for migration decision to be made. A number of studies have observed that large families have a lower propensity to move than small ones. Children of school-age also reduce the tendency of their families to migrate. But families with elementary school students are more likely to migrate than those with post-elementary ones because the former types of students integrate more easily into a new educational system than do their counterparts. Since 75 percent of the respondents had one or two children and over 80 percent of the children in the families were pre-schoolers and elementary students, it was easier to move them into a new environment.

Many families did not move together from Poland to Alberta, despite the relatively small

numbers and young ages of the children. This is due mainly to the indirect journey of many immigrants from Poland to Alberta (as discussed in chapter 4); the inability to pay the fare for the whole family at the same time, as indicated by some of the respondent to the survey questionnaire; and probably the indecision about permanent resettlement at the time of initial move from Poland. In fact, at the height of the political upheavals many Poles just fled their country into an uncertainty (US Committee for Refugees 1982). A number of the immigrants also indicated that the husband decided to move first and find employment and accomodation before the rest of the family joined him. Less than half of all families with children, 46 percent, moved at the same time from Poland, and over 60 percent of them moved directly to Alberta. All lone-parent families however moved together. There were few of them, just 5 percent of all families. Most of the families without children moved together. Only 25 percent did not do so, and this was due mainly to problems related to obtaining visa rather than financing the journey.

Actually the temporary stay in third countries was difficult financially, particularly for the refugees and those who did not have work permits from the countries they went to prior to emigrating from Poland. The refugees received allowances which were just enough for their sustenance. Jobs were difficult to secure in most countries, except in West Germany and Austria. The immigrants said they did menial jobs illegally and were therefore underpaid by their employers. It was such conditions which prevented families from moving together.

Educational Status

The Polish immigrants have higher educational status than all immigrants coming to Alberta during the 1980s. Among the Polish immigrants, 13 percent had no education compared with 14 percent of their counterparts, all immigrants admitted to Alberta during the same period. Forty-five percent of Poles have secondary school education and about 15 percent of them had university degrees, ranging from bachelor's to the doctorate degree (Table 3.3). Only 10 percent of all Alberta's immigrants, arriving in the province during the same period, had university level degrees (Alberta Career Development and

Employment, 1988, 3).

Table 3.3 Educational Status of Polish Immigrants, 1980-1987

Category	Number	Percentage
None	326	13
Secondary	1104	45
Trade/Diploma	352	14
Other Non-University	241	10
Some University	95	4
Bachelor	264	11
Some Post-Graduate	12	< 1
Master's	50	2
Doctorate	25	1
All Categories	**2,469**	**100**

Source: Alberta Immigration and Settlement, 1989

It is true that the level of education has increased among all Canadian immigrants in recent years. The post-World War II Canadian immigration policy has encouraged admission of persons with high educational status. However among Polish immigrants high educational attainment was particularly noticeable.

There is another factor responsible for the high educational status of Polish immigrants. The political crises which led to the emigration of Polish citizens from their country affected the highly educated more than their less educated counterparts. In a number of interviews, the respondents indicated that the communist government did not provide conditions favourable for advancement for the highly educated in the country. Frustration at the workplace in particular was harder on the more

educated. As such, they were the most ready to emigrate from the country.

Occupational Composition

The educational qualifications of the immigrants are reflected in their occupational composition. Compared to earlier times, there was a high proportion of professionals among the most recent groups of Polish immigrants. Fourteen percent of them were in the Natural Sciences and Engineering category alone. Another 10.4 percent were in the Medical and Health Sciences, 6.4 percent were teachers and 0.6 percent were managers in various fields. Thus a little over one third of the immigrants who entered the labour force were of the professional and managerial categories. Less than 3 percent of them were in the primary sector (Table 3.4).

The occupational composition of the Polish immigrants differed from those of all the other immigrants arriving in Canada for three main categories: the managerial, natural science and engineering, clerical and related, medicine and health, and construction. There were more Polish immigrants in the natural sciences and engineering (16.2 percent) and clerical and related (26.9 percent) categories than among all other immigrants for which the proportions were 8.8 percent and 10.3 percent respectively. For the management category, all immigrants accounted for 5.9 percent while among the Poles the percentage was only 0.7 percent. The percentage of Polish immigrants in medicine and health was almost three times as many as that of all other immigrants. Construction is not so important for Polish immigrants as it is for all other immigrants.

Intended Destination of the Immigrants

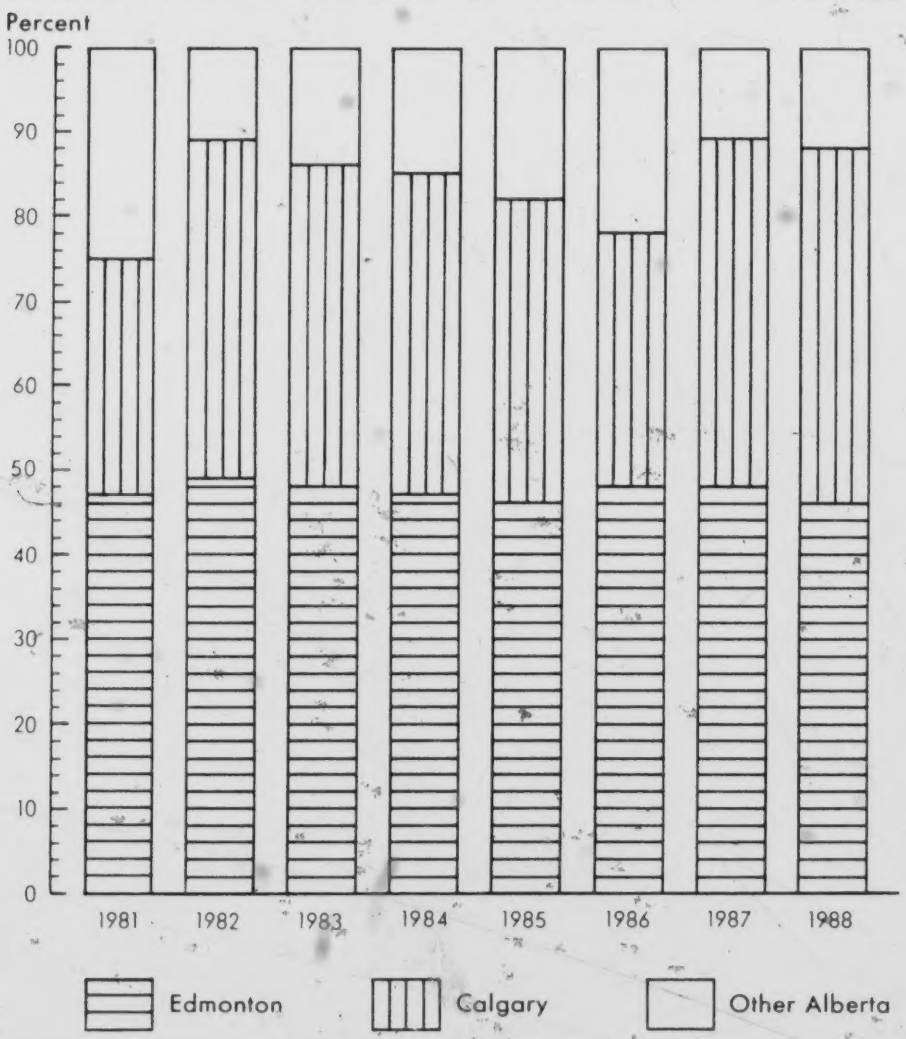
Edmonton and Calgary were the preferred destinations of immigrants arriving in Alberta in the 1980s. The proportion of immigrants arriving in these cities rose from 79 percent in 1980 to 85 percent in 1988. During the period 1981-1988, between 75 and 90 percent of Polish immigrants arriving in the province settled in these two cities each year. The rest were scattered in small numbers (1 to 20) in other urban centres and villages (Figure 3.4).

Table 3.4 Intended Occupation of Polish Immigrants to Alberta and all Immigrants to Canada, 1981-1987

Category	Number		Percentage	
	Polish	All Immigrants	Polish	All Immigrants
Management	7	20,086	0.7	5.9
Nat. Sc. & Engineering	162	29,686	16.2	8.8
Social Sciences	39	3,553	3.8	1.1
Religion	7	3,179	0.7	0.9
Teaching	74	10,205	7.4	3.0
Medicine & Health	20	15,100	12.0	4.5
Arts, Literacy & Recr.	23	6,190	2.3	1.8
Sports & Recreation	6	723	0.6	0.2
Clerical & Related	270	34,639	26.9	10.3
Sales	32	13,600	3.2	4.0
Service	102	36,795	10.2	10.8
Farming	24	11,904	2.4	3.5
Processing	23	7,073	2.3	2.1
Machining & Related	8	11,365	0.8	3.4
Product Fab. etc.	74	37,681	7.4	11.2
Construction	7	15,592	0.7	4.6
Material Handling	11	3,494	1.1	1.0
Other Crafts & Equipment	5	1,873	0.5	0.5
Others	8	75,147	0.8	22.2
All Categories	**1150**	**337,888**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: a. Alberta Immigration and Settlement, 1989 (Polish immigrants).
b. EIC 1980-1989 (All immigrants)

FIGURE 3.4 INTENDED DESTINATION OF POLISH IMMIGRANTS 1981-1988



Source: Alberta immigration and settlement, 1989.

The residential distribution of the immigrants is highly related to their educational qualification and occupational status. Since the majority had secondary and university education, and intended to work in the manufacturing and service sectors of the economy, they chose urban destinations. In addition, the high proportion of Polish-Albertan communities in Edmonton and Calgary accounts for the choice of these cities by recent Polish immigrants including those

IV. THE MIGRATORY PROCESS

A. The Migratory Paths of the Immigrants

The literature on Polish immigration to Alberta does not contain discussions on the migratory process of the immigrants from Poland to their destination, as stated in chapter one of the present study. This aspect of their immigration is, however, very important, especially in recent times.

Most Polish immigrants arriving in Alberta in the 1980s did not come directly from Poland to their destination. They emigrated temporarily to other countries before coming to Alberta. The outflow and pattern of their movement are reflections of the increased control of movement across national boundaries which has made international migration very difficult. Overall, it is the policies of receiving countries which influence movements from one country to another. Generally, the policies they adopt allow for only limited numbers compared to the numbers applying for admission. Thus international migration is characterized by "disincentives" rather than "incentives" (Dowty 1987, Zolberg 1989 citing Bhagwati 1984).

Those countries from which international migrants originate, by and large, do not restrict exit. But the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (before the recent changes taking place there) have adopted a considerable range of policies affecting emigration, apart from the mutual transfer of labour. Restriction on emigration in these countries is one of the political measures adopted by the governments to control the society totally. There has also been the fear of losing skilled labour or letting dissidents out. Family reunification has been the only common justification for emigration. Even in this case some governments, for example, those of the Soviet Union and Poland, retain the prerogative of identifying appropriate family members (United Nations 1982, Makowski 1987). The Polish immigrants had problems moving into Canada as well as coming out of Poland.

Emigrating from a Communist Country

Prohibition on emigration from communist countries, including Poland, has its roots in the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the basis of all political and socioeconomic organization in those countries.

In fact, the no-exit policy originated in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union adopted a no-exit policy in the mid-1920s, and maintained it with slight modifications until very recently. The roots of this policy have been traced to pre-revolutionary Russia, which never had a tradition of freedom of movement, either internal or external, because it was incompatible with the maintenance of serfdom. Lenin's view that citizens are hired employees of the state and are required to serve it, later laid the foundation for the future controls of movement in the Soviet Union. The Bolshevik attitude was further enhanced by civil war and foreign intervention which characterized the early history of the USSR. During those years of civil war, "it was feared that those leaving the country would swell the ranks of the White armies and other enemies abroad" (Dowty 1987, 68). Consequently, the wish to emigrate was equated with opposition to the socialist state. The no-exit policy was later adopted by some other authoritarian regimes, for example, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, Spain, Portugal (as late as the 1960s), and the Eastern European countries of the Marxist-Leninist persuasion.

The restrictive emigration policy has been pursued in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union for two main purposes after World War II. Firstly, prohibition of emigration arose as a concomitant to state-directed economic autarchy, as the leaders of these states imposed great sacrifices on their people in order to catch up with the western industrialized nations. Citizens have been expected to show their patriotism and loyalty to their nation by staying in the country and participating in the temporary economic hardships for the achievement of a prosperous future. Secondly, since emigration is considered as an alternative to protest (against political conditions), the socialist countries which claim to rest on socialist democracy, cannot permit such concrete evidence of estrangement.

Against this background, emigration has been used exceptionally to relieve tension or to rid the state of some unwanted elements. But permission to leave has been disguised as expulsion and sometimes coupled with humiliating measures in order not to appear as granting to such small number of unwanted citizens a privilege refused to the majority of the people.

The Polish Communist Government also adopted forced emigration as a political policy during

the 1980s, with the objective of eliminating its opponents and restoring law and order in the country. Several thousands of SOLIDARITY activists were expelled or coerced to emigrate from Poland during the height of the political tensions in 1982 and 1983 by the communist military government of Jaruzelski. The expulsions were often accompanied by harsh treatment inflicted on the victims with the intention of discouraging the rest of the population from further anti-communist demonstrations.

The anti-communist agitators, however, adamantly continued their protest against the government clandestinely and many citizens sought to leave the country. Perth-Grabrowska (1989, 5) wrote the following about the high rate of emigration from the country during the mid-1980s:

> Perhaps as many as 1 million people - mainly the most educated and most ambitious--have emigrated from Poland in the last few years. Sociological surveys suggest that a large number of Polish youth, seeing no prospects in their own country, think only of emigration to the West.

Consequently, the Polish Government continued to restrict emigration from the country. This was done through administrative and bureaucratic constraints. Procedures involved in obtaining passports were long, cumbersome, and very expensive. Many applications for passports and other travel documents were often rejected when deemed appropriate by the communist authorities. It sometimes took demonstrations by Polish groups, families, and individuals for the communist authorities to grant permit for emigration to persons being sponsored by Poles living abroad. There was such a case in Toronto. On November 5, 1983, ten Poles went on hunger strike in front of the Polish consulate, vowing to fast to death, after the Polish government had denied repeated requests to release their families to join them. It was not until the nineteenth day that the Polish Government agreed to allow their families to leave for Canada (Makowski 1987, 270). Individuals wishing to emigrate were often treated with contempt by advocates of the communist system who consider emigration as unpatriotic. "... the secret police will mark you, follow up on you and threaten you if they do not think that you have to leave the country", deplored one of the immigrants interviewed by the writer.

The immigrants, however, used a number of strategies to move out of Poland. Going out as tourists or temporary visitors and staying on, for example, was one of the strategies frequently used by those who could not obtain travel documents or were afraid of even applying for them. In the next

section, we discuss the survey results regarding how such emigrants overcame the obstacles to direct migration from Poland to Alberta.

Migratory Path of the Immigrants: Determinants and Patterns

Out of the one hundred respondents to the survey questionnaire, only 23 percent of them had moved directly from Poland to Alberta. The remaining 77 percent made their journey through other countries, which they entered as tourists, temporary workers, visitors to families, etc., and where they stayed for some period of time before finally coming to Alberta (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Categories of Emigrants from Poland

Category	Number	Percentage
Tourists	43	55.8
Visitors to family abroad	12	15.6
Emigrants	10	13.0
Students (for further studies)	5	6.5
Temporary migrant labour	5	6.5
Refugees	2	2.6
All categories	**77**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, December 1989-January 1990

The majority of the indirect migrants, 55.8 percent, left Poland as tourists. The easiest way to emigrate from the country was to go on vacation or tourist visit to another country because passports for such purposes were quite easily secured from the Polish authorities. Once outside the country, these "tourists" applied for temporary asylum or for permanent resettlement in other countries. In so doing, they changed their category. All those who left Poland as emigrants were expelled as politically undesirable citizens. They were given the option to leave the country or face imprisonment for their

anticommunist sentiments or activities. They were active members of SOLIDARITY, and were also highly educated. They applied for asylum from the third countries they entered upon expulsion.

Some of those who left Poland as temporary workers also entered Alberta as refugees. This explains why the proportion of this category of all the immigrants who arrived between 1980 and 1987 was so large, 56 percent, though only 2 percent left Poland as such. According to the immigrants, it was easier to have asylum granted to them by the countries they applied to because of the political persecution facing the Polish society. To come as an independent immigrant, they said, was difficult for most of them, since they could not meet the requirements for this class in the Canadian immigration regulations. Only a few of them worked in the countries where they stayed temporarily to prepare financially for their journey, and arrived subsequently in Alberta as independent immigrants.

Those who left as visitors to families abroad accounted for only 15.6 percent of the indirect emigrants. Normally, most people who wish to visit families abroad go through the emigration and immigration procedures more successfully than any other group of emigrants. The few unsuccessful ones went to other countries to apply for travel documents. This is why the category of visitors to families abroad forms a small proportion of the indirect migrants.

The immigrants who made their journey through other countries spent between one month and five years there. They stayed for an average of one-and-a-half years in these countries. They moved at later dates to Alberta, joining those who emigrated directly from Poland to the province. This implies that there would be more immigrants of Polish origin by birth than by country of last permanent residence arriving in Alberta during any given year. This is because the country of last permanent residence is defined in the Canadian immigration statistics as 'the country where the applicant has resided on a permanent (or de facto permanent basis for one year or more. "De facto permanent" applies to residence in a country which never confers permanent residence or only after a long period' (Employment and Immigration Canada 1987b, 119). Since the indirect Polish immigrants to Alberta spent an average of one-and-a-half years in the countries they emigrated to temporarily, they would indicate those countries instead of Poland as their country of last permanent residence.

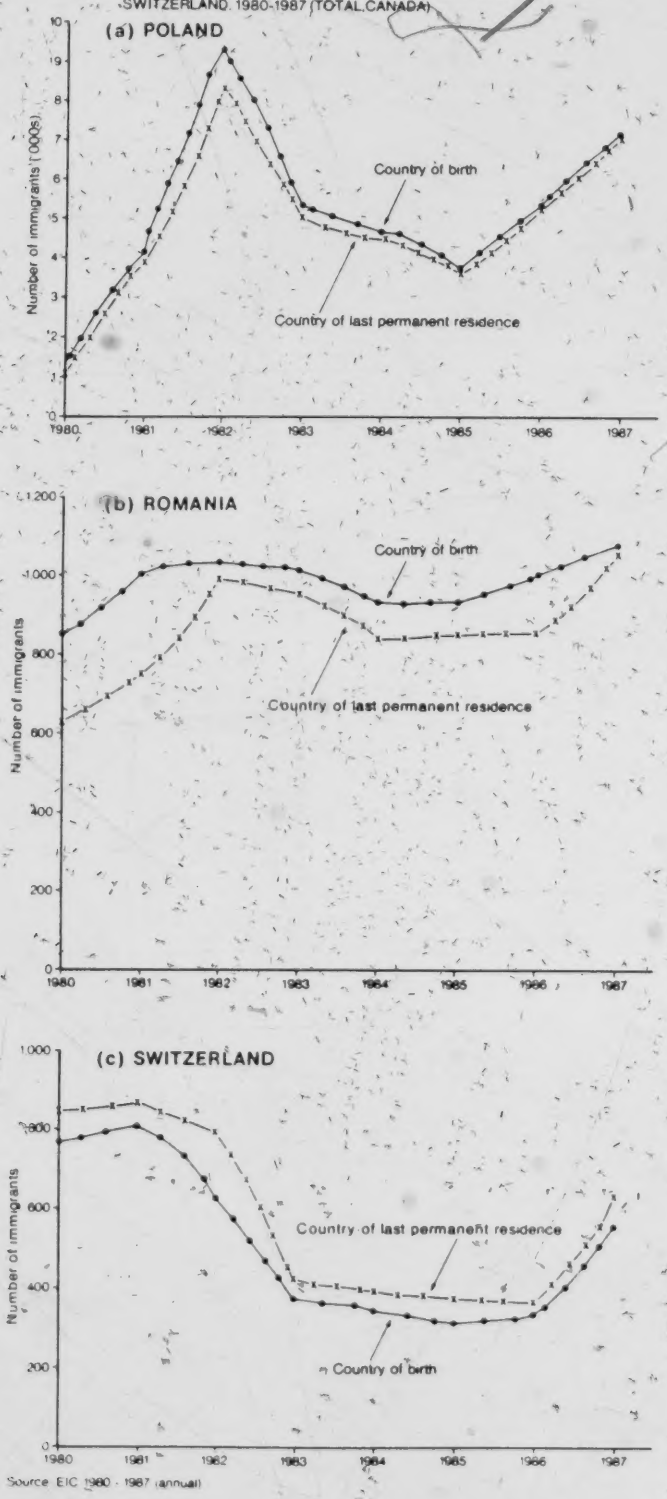
The number of immigrants from Poland as country of birth could be compared with that of those for whom it was country of last permanent residence. The immigration statistics did not, however, include the statistics on country of birth of immigrants by province until 1985. Other sources consulted did not provide this data for previous years. The statistics for all Polish immigrants to Canada as a whole, is therefore used to depict this feature of Polish immigration to Canada in the 1980s. As can be observed from Figure 4.1a, there were more immigrants of Polish origin by birth than those who came from Poland as their country of last permanent residence. The same pattern is exhibited by Romania, another communist country in which emigration is restricted by the government (Figure 4.1b), while the opposite is true for Switzerland, where there are no limitations on emigration (Figure 4.1c). The Swiss pattern may reflect the emigration of foreigners who stayed there for a while and left later, still indicating a relatively free movement into and out of Switzerland. It may also be possible that there are more Polish-born and Romanian-born nationals than their Swiss-born counterparts who had been living in foreign countries before the 1980s and who are now migrating to Canada. It is true that the general social and economic upheavals and the atmosphere of uncertainty that have characterized the communist countries have caused movements of their citizens, especially refugee types, to other countries during recent decades, despite government restrictions on emigration (Kosinski 1985).

In his article entitled "Immigration from East Central Europe to Canada, 1956-1980", Kosinski reported that over 160,000 immigrants arrived in Canada from seven countries of communist Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania) during that period. He noted that political upheavals in those countries and Canada's response to the resulting problems of refugees (admitting them) were the main determinants of emigration from the countries.

A 1982 study by the US Committee for Refugees on Poles who fled their country during 1981 and 1982 to several Western European countries as a result of the political conditions in the country throws more light on the Polish situation:

> While world leaders, Solidarity sympathizers, and political analysts engage in heated debate over recent events in Poland, few have focused on the 300,000-500,000

FIGURE 4.1 IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA: COUNTRY OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH COMPARED FOR POLAND, ROMANIA AND SWITZERLAND, 1980-1987 (TOTAL CANADA)



Source: EIC 1980 - 1987 (annual)

> Polish nationals caught outside their homeland facing an unknown future. Theirs is a situation characterized by ambiguity and anxiety. Some have made the difficult decision to seek a new permanent home; many thousands more, however are waiting, watching events unfold although they have little assurance that they will be able to return home soon or safely (US Commitee for Refugees 1982, 1).

Many of these Polish nationals finally decided to resettle permanently in these and other countries, presumably because their hopes of positive changes in Poland were not realized. The emigrants therefore proceeded on to their final destinations only after their fears about Poland were confirmed by the worsening conditions in the country. The impact of this pattern of emigration can be observed in Figure 4.1a. The difference between the number of immigrants arriving from Poland as last country of permanent residence and as country of origin was highest between 1982 and 1985. The Polish emigrants who left at an earlier date, 1981 and 1982, are now arriving in Canada from other countries.

One can also speculate that the decision regarding permanent resettlement was not even firm in the minds of some of the Polish nationals who emigrated temporarily to foreign countries. They therefore spent quite a considerable length of time there.

Over 70 percent of the respondents in the Alberta survey emigrated temporarily to Austria, FGR, Greece, France, and Italy (Table 4.2). These are some of the European countries currently maintaining the most liberal refugee policies. More than 90 percent of the Polish refugees arriving in the 1980s came from these five countries (as observed in the field survey).

Only 3.8 percent of them stayed temporarily in Britain, which has maintained a "close-door" refugee policy and preferred skilled migrant labour to any other type of labour during this decade.

All those who were in Britain were temporary workers or were sponsored by their relatives who were residing there. Almost all indirect migrants who arrived from other countries were also temporary migrant labour and visitors to families in those countries. There were no refugees among them. Most of these countries are oil-producing economies (Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Nigeria, etc.) where job opportunities have been available for Polish nationals.

Movement from other Canadian provinces to Alberta was not significant during the period. Only 7.8 percent of the immigrants had migrated to Alberta via other provinces. The rate of interprovincial

migration has been declining in Canada during the 1980s. It fell from 5.1 percent in 1981 to 4.0 percent in 1986, for the population aged 5 years and over (Statistics Canada 1989). For Alberta, it fell even more, from 16.6 percent to 8.3 percent for the same age group and period. The recession in economic activity has been one of the main causes of the decline in interprovincial migration in Canada.

Table 4.2 Countries of Temporary Immigration

Country	Number	Percentage
Austria	17	22.1
Federal Republic of Germany	13	16.9
Greece	11	14.3
Italy	9	11.7
France	4	5.2
Britain	3	3.8
Others	14	18.2

Other Canadian Provinces	6	7.8
Total	**77**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, December 1989-January 1990

A number of factors contributed to the indirect migration from Poland to Alberta. They are related to Poland's geopolitical position, humanitarian immigration programmes in Canada and some European countries and past migration processes - the presence of Poles outside Poland, especially in Canada.

The geopolitical position of Poland was a positive factor in the immigration process. Geographically, Poland's position provides access to many countries in Europe (Figure 4.2). Moreover, it is near some of the European countries which have maintained liberal or quite liberal policies towards

FIGURE 4.2 IMMIGRATION LEVELS AND GOVERNMENT POLICY IN EUROPE AND EMIGRATION POLICY OF POLAND IN THE 1980'S

Type of economy: East European and Communist; Free

Immigration level or significance: Significant; Insignificant

Government immigration policy: To lower immigration level; To maintain immigration level

Government emigration policy: ⟺ Restrictive

△ Traditional destinations of Polish emigrants

immigrants in general and refugees in particular. These countries are Sweden, the Federal Republic of Germany (FGR), France, Austria, Italy, and Greece. The consequence is reflected in the large number of refugees who sought asylum in them (Table 4.3). It should be noted that not all the countries which have experienced significant immigration into their territories maintained liberal immigration policies towards refugees (compare Figure 4.2 and Table 4.3). The United Kingdom and The Netherlands are examples.

So far as Polish nationals are concerned, an estimated 300,000-500,000 of them fled their country to some of these countries at an earlier date, 1980 to 1982. This flight was the result of the imposition of marshall law on the population in December 1981 and the attendant political tensions in the country (US Committee for Refugees 1982). They emigrated from those third countries after a temporary stay.

Table 4.3 Number of Asylum Seekers from 1984 to 1886, by Country of Application.

Country	1984	1985	1986	1984-1986
Austria	7,200	6,700	8,650	**22,550**
Belgium	3,650	5,300	7,650	**16,600**
Denmark	4,300	8,700	9,300	**22,300**
France	15,900	25,800	23,400	**65,100**
Federal Republic of Germany	35,300	73,850	99,650	**208,800**
Netherlands	2,600	5,650	5,850	**14,100**
Norway	300	850	2,700	**3,850**
Sweden	12,000	14,450	14,600	**41,050**
Switzerland	7,450	9,700	8,550	**25,700**
United Kingdom	3,850	5,450	3,900	**13,200**

Source: United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees 1988

There were five major destinations for the indirect migrants: Austria, FGR, Greece, France, and Italy (Figure 4.3). Greece and Italy are the only countries which attract emigrants from all parts of Poland. Greece is particularly important for Region 5; a third of the emigrants from that Region went there. Only 10 to 17 percent of emigrants from other regions went to Greece. Italy also attracts more emigrants from Regions 4 and 5, eastern Poland, than from any other region.

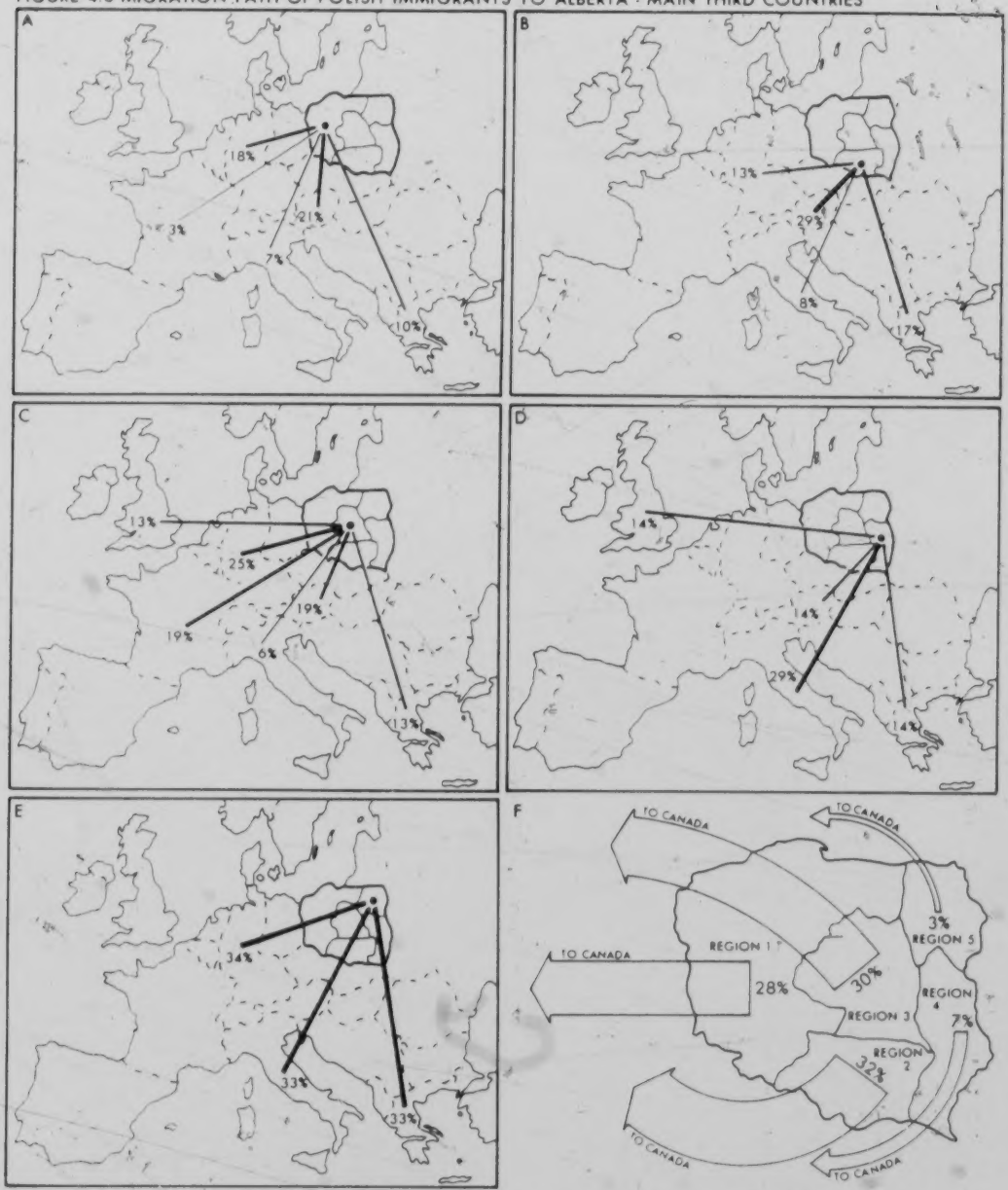
Germany and Austria are by far the most important destinations in terms of absolute numbers of emigrants, though they did not attract emigrants from all the regions. Germany was particularly important for Regions 3 and 5, while Austria was mainly attractive to emigrants from Regions 1, 2, and 3.

France and Britain are the least attractive destinations. France is a destination for only those from Regions 1 and 3. Britain also attracted emigrants from only Region 3. Since the policies regarding refugees in these two countries have been rather restrictive during this decade, the Polish emigrants who are mostly refugees would not have chosen these countries as their destination.

To a large extent, and in terms of absolute numbers, the choice of third countries by the emigrants from the various regions does not seem to have been determined by proximity (Figure 4.3). Generally, the countries which have maintained the most liberal policies towards refugees in particular and have been traditional destinations of Polish emigrants (West Germany, Austria, and Italy) were the most important initial destinations for those leaving the country for Alberta in the 1980s, irrespective of their distance from the various regions. Thus, even in the case of emigrants from Regions 1 and 2 who apparently considered distance in making their choice, it could be said that it was other factors rather than their closeness to West Germany and Austria determined their patterns of movement. It must be added that West Germany, Austria, etc. have been traditional destinations of Polish emigrants since the last century (Figure 4.2). Greece has also been an important destination of Polish temporary emigrants because of its vacation resorts.

Politically, the very nature of the attitude of communist regimes to emigration, and the political and economic conditions in their countries, have drawn sympathy from Western countries for their

FIGURE 4.3 MIGRATION PATH OF POLISH IMMIGRANTS TO ALBERTA - MAIN THIRD COUNTRIES



Source: Alberta Field Survey, December 1989, January 1990

A-E Indirect migration F Direct and indirect migration

people. Within the world of the Cold War, Western states have regarded emigration from the Soviet Union and its satellites as a "defection", a demonstration that communist regimes lack support (Zolberg 1989, 414). They have adopted special immigration policies welcoming such defectors from the communist world. Moreover, since the creation of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 1951, and its call on the international community to assist refugees and people in similar situations, many countries have helped refugees in various ways. Canada, for example, has proclaimed, and intermittently upheld a humanitarian tradition with respect to such people. They are admitted either as "Refugees" (if they meet the UN criteria) or in the "Designated Classes" which has been specifically created to meet the requirements of persons in refugee-like situations. The official document issued by the Department of Employment and Immigration, Canada, stated:

> Members of **Designated Classes** are persons in refugee-like situations who are accorded the opportunity to resettle in Canada because they are displaced or persecuted, or both. Such persons may not be able to meet the strict definition of "refugees" in the Convention for such technical reasons as that they remain in their own countries. ... Designated Classes are so designated by the Governor in Council (the Federal Cabinet). There are three such classes: those for Eastern Europeans, Indochinese, and Political Prisoners and Oppressed Persons (EIC 1988, 12).

The Canadian Government authorizes sponsorship of refugees and other immigrants by individuals, ethnic groups, and aid organizations who desire to welcome their families, relatives and others to Canada. In 1982 when martial law was imposed by the Polish Communist Government on Poland, Canada announced that a virtually unlimited number of Polish refugees would be allowed to enter the country (EIC 1989). They did come, sponsored by the Canadian Government, Polish-Canadians, and aid organizations concerned about refugees.

Individual Poles, Polish families, and Polish ethnic organizations in Canada played important role in the sponsorship of their brothers and sisters from Poland during the period under study, as well as in the past. The special concession offered Polish refugees by the Canadian Government in 1982 was a response to the call by Polish-Canadians on the Government to condemn the Polish Communist Government's crackdown on the leaders of SOLIDARITY and consider admitting those who desired to emigrate to Canada. They staged demonstrations in a number of Canadian cities to show support for

their brothers and sisters in Poland (Polish Canadian Congress 1982).

Sponsorship of immigrants from Poland and other countries has been an important activity of Canadian Polish Congress. It has a Central Committee of Immigration, which is made up of an Advisory, Information, and Temporary Help Sections (Canadian Polish Congress 1982). The Commitee provides information, and guidance the ethnic organizations, parishes, and individuals or families who wish to sponsor their relatives from Poland in various ways. The Congress, on occasions, make petitions to the Canadian authorities (the Federal Government, Department of Immigration and Employment, etc.) to grant special immigration concessions to Poles because of the political conditions in Poland and the hardships the people face. The concession given to Polish nationals in 1982 was an outcome of one such petition by the Congress. But the immigrants seem to have little acknowledgement of the role played by the Congress with regard to sponsorship. They rarely mentioned the assistance offered them by the Congress directly or indirectly through other sponsors. Out of the 100 immigrants who responded to the survey questionnaire, 56 percent indicated that they were sponsored by their families, 15 percent by Polish ethnic organizations, and 3 percent by other aid organizations. Family reunion has been a major element of Polish-Albertan immigration and many waves of contemporary international movements (Salt 1989). A chain of migration has been developed and will last as long as the Canadian immigration policy allows entry of families of citizens of this country.

Polish immigration to Alberta during the 1980s was characterized by indirect immigration. The factors that have fashioned this pattern are related to the restrictions on emigration by the Polish Communist Government, the geoplitical position of Poland, and the international attitude to the problems in the communist countries as well as the outside world.

B. Factors Associated with the Decision to Move

As was noted earlier, people normally migrate from one place to another in order to avail themselves of "better conditions of living", whether economic, social, political or otherwise. An overwhelming majority of studies indicate that economic motives dominate migration decisions. But non-

economic factors (social, political, religious, and environmental conditions) have produced many waves of movements, especially refugee types. Moreover political and social strifes, for example, have been the indirect causes of economic migration in that they exacerbate the economic conditions which trigger off emigration from poor countries.

Reasons for Emigrating from Poland

The immigrants were asked to state the most important reason why they left from Poland. More than half of them, 52.1 percent, stated that the political situation was the main factor which pushed them out of their country. The most common political problems which the immigrants cited were the lack of personal and political freedom. Another 26.0 percent gave economic and job-related reasons: low salaries, lack of basic needs, especially housing facilities and health services, job dissatisfaction, and a bleak economic future. There were 15.6 percent who said they left Poland to join their spouses or family in Alberta. The rest said they emigrated for a number of personal and environmental problems. All those who emigrated because of environmental pollution are among this group (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Reasons for Emigrating from Poland

Reason	Percentage
Political	52.1
Economic	26.0
Family and related	15.6
Others	6.3

Source: Field Survey, December 1989-January 1990

Political factors and economic conditions dominated the reasons for emigration from Poland, as indicated by the emigrants. In fact, the political problems of Poland were said to be the remote causes of the critical socioeconomic conditions which prevailed in the country during the 1980s. As we

have seen, the root of the political problems of Poland during the period and also in the past four decades following World War II was the lack of democracy.

The political situation in Poland during the 1980s was characteristically that of political unrest due to government attempts at suppressing an increased opposition of the Polish population to communism. The emergence of a workers' united front, SOLIDARITY, in 1980 was the main catalyst to the development of a nation-wide anti-communist sentiments and opposition.

Poles have always opposed communism as an ideology or a form of government since the early stages of its forcible introduction into Polish society. There are four main reasons why Poles oppose communism as an ideology or political, social, and economic system (Bethell 1969, Matejko 1973, Brumberg 1983). Firstly, the communist system of government was imposed on Poland by the Soviet leaders after World War II, through the use of terror, intimidation, manipulation and propaganda to crush all opposition to this ideology. Secondly, the communist system, particularly international communism, was perceived as a camouflage for Soviet imperialism which was a continuation of the Nineteenth Century Russian imperialism under which many Poles suffered. Poles have always had the view that national sovereignty and communism are incompatible (Bethell 1969). Thirdly, the communist system contradicted the Polish culture and tradition in many respects including attachment to political, individual, and religious freedoms, which are not guaranteed in the communist system. Finally, the system proved incapable of solving the economic problems of the country and providing the basic necessities of life for the citizens. The post-World War II development policy of the country consisted basically of massive industrialization of the Polish economy, with little attention to either the agricultural sector or the development of social infrastructure and amenities. Moreover the industrial policy of the country emphasized quantitative achievements whilst neglecting the environmental impacts of industrialization. About a third of the Polish population is now living in highly polluted environments. In mid-1980s between a quarter and a third of the population lived below the poverty line, and in many cities, people had to wait for about forty to fifty years for a new appartment (Perth-Grabrowska 1988, Domanski 1989).

Table 4.5 Mortality Rate of Working-age Males in Poland 1965 to 1985 (per thousand)

Year	20-64	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-59	60-64
1965	7.9	1.6	2.0	3.4	7.5	14.6	24.0
1970	8.8	1.6	2.0	3.7	7.6	15.6	25.5
1975	9.5	1.7	2.1	4.0	9.0	15.5	25.0
1980	10.9	1.8	2.4	5.0	10.9	18.7	26.6
1983	10.4	1.7	2.2	4.3	10.2	18.4	26.9
1985	11.1	1.5	2.1	4.4	11.2	19.9	29.1
1986	11.9	2.1	4.2	4.4	11.2	20.0	29.4

Source: United Nations 1987 (1986 data), Kortus 1989 (1965-1985 data).

Frustration due to limited personal and political freedom was prevalent in the country during the period under study. Increased alcoholism and many other forms of social vices, and falling standards of living resulted from these. This in turn was reflected in the rising death rate of working-age males in Poland (Table 4.5), which was one of the highest in Europe.

Poles are a patriotic people who love freedom and their country. They have fought for its freedom throughout its history. Just as in the past, limited political and economic freedom in the country sent many of them abroad, so was this process repeated during the 1980s.

Reasons and Motives for coming to Alberta

The immigrants had many choices of destination at the time of their emigration from Poland. Many of them, however, chose Canada because of the freedom they expected to have in this country. The choice of Canada as their future home, the respondents in the Alberta survey said, was based on the knowledge they had acquired from friends, relatives, and other sources about this country. In a communist country like Poland, where it was common for the government to censor and manipulate the media, information about the Western world was quite limited and distorted. Information feedback from

friends and relatives in Alberta, a more credible source, was the main factor which drew members of extended families and friends. Earlier massive Polish immigration to Alberta was also traced back to few immigrants who later drew others to to this part of Canada through information sent back in letters, and through visits and return migration (Matejko 1973, Palmer and Palmer 1985). The process of chain migration has led to the recreation of old country society with various forms of ethnic ties and networks in the new world, Alberta, particularly during the earliest times of Polish-Albertan immigration. The Polish community in Alberta has continued to grow and sponsor their brothers and sisters from their country of origin.

The immigrants came to Alberta in search of better living conditions in all aspects of life, having been convinced as they stated, that Canada is a stable democratic and quiet country. The greatest concern of the professionals among them is to have unlimited freedom to practise their professions. Parents also expected to provide a better future for their children.

Asked why they did not make their home in those European countries where most of them had emigrated to temporarily, they said Canada's unique tolerance of many cultures was more attractive to them than being nearer home in the less pluralistic societies of Europe, such as Germany and Austria, which offered most of them initial refuge. It is also quite likely that past experience of German occupation made a long stay in these countries relatively unattractive. Moreover, opportunities for permanent stay in many European countries today are limited. The Polish emigrants might not have desired to settle temporarily in those countries and be forced to return home at a later date. They probably did not expect that conditions would improve in Poland in the near future. Even if conditions improve they may not want to return there. The future migration plans of the immigrants and other aspects of their socioeconomic life in Alberta are the subjects of the next chapter.

V. SOME ASPECTS OF IMMIGRANTS' ADJUSTMENT IN ALBERTA

A. Economic Adaptation of the Immigrants

Every migrant has certain characteristics or attributes which he carries with him to his destination - sex, age, family status, occupational skills, educational attainments, ethnic origin, language, social and cultural attitudes, religious and political affiliations, etc.. Thus migration not only involves the physical relocation of migrants, but also the transfer of their characteristics or attributes. While some of these attributes, such as sex, are obviously fixed and immutable, several others consequently change because the individual has entered a new social setting which may have different "rules" for status ascription and attainment (Eisenstadt 1953, 1). The adaptation of migrants, however, depends on many factors, including their motive for migrating, their personal characteristics, and the conditions in the new society. Their socioeconomic status may improve, deteriorate, or remain the same at their destination (Petersen 1958, Goldscheider 1971, McGahan 1986, Krishnan and Odynak 1987).

There is a considerable literature on migrant adaptation and related processes. A number of models and propositions have been propounded to explain the process, especially the economic and social aspects. There is the classical model of immigrant assimilation, first put forward by Robert Park (1928) and his colleagues at the University of Chicago in the 1920s. It assumes that the majority of immigrants are of low economic status. They are poorly educated and lack the skills and training required for the better remunerated types of employment. They are handicapped by limited knowledge of the official language and other cultural factors of the host economy. The immigrants and their children would gradually move up the social ladder as they compete for educational opportunities and economic advancement in a relatively open society. They also shift from characteristics of their ethnic group to those of the major group or host community. The classical model argues further that the social mobility of immigrants involves a change of residential location (away from the ethnic segregated residential area) and a gradual independence from traditional cultural restraints. In the long run, ethnic differences would eventually disappear or, at least be reduced to comparative insignificance. The key factor in the classical assimilation model was time (Park 1928, 881; McGahan 1986, 16-18; Richmond

and Verma 1978, 37).

Sociologists in the field, particularly those of Marxist persuasion, later recognized that the classical assimilation model did not correspond well with reality. Rather, a system of ethnic stratification arises when ascribed characteristics, such as race, language, or religion, become the basis on which access to educational opportunity is allocated and resources distributed. In extreme cases, ethnicity may be the basis on which legal status as well as economic rewards and social prestige are determined. Various studies done by Glazer and Moynihan (1963), Gordon (1964), Porter (1965), and Shibutani (1965), among others, noted the existence of ethnicity as a basis of social differentiation in the U.S. and Canada. Porter (1965, 70), for example, argues that ethnicity may be a more important determinant of economic status in the Canadian context than in the U.S., and that Canada's bilingual origins and commitment to multiculturalism contributed to the "vertical mosaic". He also predicted that the "entry status" of certain ethnic groups in Canada, such as those from eastern, central and southern Europe would be perpetuated beyond the first generation of immigrants, and give rise to ethnically determined occupational status and income distribution.

More recent studies however suggest that education, rather than ethnic factors is becoming a determinant of occupational status, social mobility and income levels in Canada (Blau and Duncan 1967, Turrittin 1974, Richmond 1974, Richmond and Verma 1978, Beaujot et al. 1988). Since the introduction of the points system in 1967, immigrants to Canada have differed substantially from those studied by classical model proponents. They have been more urbanized and better educated than those who arrived earlier. They do not have to enter the economic system from the lowest level. They have been able to obtain employment in skilled trades and white collar employment, including clerical sales, professional and technical employment (Richmond 1974, Parai 1974). But it involves an initial difficult adjustment period after which immigrants improve their status so that the low "entry status" is not necessarily a handicap to subsequent economic achievement. Thus a combination of ethnic and educational variables determine the integration of immigrants into the Canadian economy, given the nature of Canada's recent immigration policy, that is, the emphasis on higher educational qualifications (Richmond and Verma

1978, 34; Beaujot et al. 1988).

The question of how immigrants fare in Canada is important, given the significance of immigration to the Canadian society. Since immigration has always played an important role in population growth, labour-force production and composition, as well as in the cultural history of Canada, it has been a very significant variable in socioeconomic planning. For the last three decades, immigration has been more closely geared to manpower policies and to meeting specific labour-force requirements. The absolute numbers of immigrants arriving each year have been quite sensitive to fluctuations in levels of unemployment and rates of economic growth. Again, the economy's increasing need for high-skill, as against low-skill labour, has resulted in the adoption of immigration policies that favour those applicants with high educational and occupational qualifications, as well as the development of programmes to assist them to integrate well into the economy, for the benefit of the whole nation. The economic experience of immigrants partly reflects the extent to which the Canadian society provides opportunities for its newest arrivals to settle in the country without much disruption of their economic, social, and emotional life. In addition, the adaptation experience of immigrants provides a feedback for immigration policy and programme planning related to the selection and assistance of immigrants (EIC 1989). Whether immigrants adapt easily and integrate smoothly into the Canadian economy is important to themselves as well. Canada's high material standard of living makes it attractive for her immigrants, such as the ones being studied, to desire to improve their economic status and opportunities. Whatever their original motive for migration, obtaining employment, preferably commensurate with their skills and educational qualification, is an essential ingredient in their adaptation process (Richmond 1974, Kritz 1987, Beaujot et al. 1988).

Finding a Place in the Alberta Economy

The economic experience of most of the Polish immigrants has been characterized by long periods of job search, underemployment, and inability to find employment that is commensurate with their occupational skill and educational qualification. Contrary to their expectation of establishing

themselves economically in the prosperous Alberta economy (which they heard of or learned about), they have had problems finding jobs, and even if they did, it was not normally in their occupational field.

It took most of the immigrants quite a long time to find their first job, whether in their occupational field or otherwise. Out of the 97 respondents who answered questions about their first job, 74 percent (72) found their first job within their first six months of arrival. Another 24 percent (23) took two years, and the rest, 2 percent, took up to three years to find jobs.

The length of time taken to find the first job was expected to vary for various occupational groups because it is more difficult for some, especially professionals, to secure employment in their field or related ones. Since most of the immigrants soon looked for any type of job after few futile attempts to get one in their profession, there were no significant differences in the length of time taken by the various occupational categories to find their first jobs. There were also little differences by period of migration. The length of time taken to find the first job should be expected to vary with labour market conditions, particularly level of unemployment. The level of unemployment in Alberta was highest during the mid-1980s, and lowest during the early 1980s, the last period of the Alberta oil boom. It should be expected that immigrants arriving in the mid-1980s and late 1980s would take longer time to find their first job. But there was no reflection of such conditions in the survey data. This may be due to the fact that the overall market conditions of unemployment for the whole economy may not necessarily give any indication about the availability of the specific type of jobs immigrants arriving at different times may be looking for.

The labour-force participation-rate of the respondents was very high at the time of the survey. Out of the 99 respondents who answered questions about their employment status, 66 percent were employed full-time or running their own businesses. Eleven percent of them were employed on part-time basis or working occasionally. Another 5 percent were out of job indefinitely, and the rest were students or home-makers (Table 5.1). This gives a participation rate of 90.1 for the Polish immigrants, which was much higher than that for the whole of the province of Alberta (73.0 percent), and Edmonton (73.6 percent) and Calgary (75.8 percent), where the immigrants reside (Statistics Canada 1989). The

calculation of the participation rate for the Polish immigrants is based on the concept of the "employed" in Canadian 1986 Census. It is defined as persons aged 15 years and over who during the week prior to the Census date did any work at all excluding housework or other maintenance or repairs around the home and volunteer work; or were absent from their job or business because of their temporary illness or disability, vacation, labour dispute at their place of work or other reasons. All the respondents who were students indicated that they were working full-time or part-time. They were therefore added to the list of the employed.

Table 5.1 Employment Status of Immigrants

Employment Status	Number	Percentage
Employed full-time	53	54.1
Self-employed	13	13.3
Employed part-time	10	10.2
Occasional worker	1	1.0
Student	13	13.3
Home-maker	5	5.1
Out of job indefinitely	3	3.1
All Categories	**98**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, December 1989-January 1990

Further analysis of the survey data showed that most of the immigrants, the professional type in particular, have however been under-utilising their occupational skills because they are now in occupations which are below their qualifications and skills. A sample of this category of immigrants is represented in Table 5.2. These have indicated that they did not have any intention of changing their professions upon arrival in Alberta, but have been facing a number of problems which prevented them from finding jobs in their occupational or related fields. They cited the following obstacles as the major

ones which have restricted them from practising their professions:

a. limited knowledge of English language,

b. lack of Canadian experience,

c. lack of connections in the labour market,

d. the undiversified economy of Alberta,

e. employers' attitudes,

f. lack of accreditation of educational qualification, and

g. overqualification for the most available jobs.

Table 5.2 Intended and Actual Occupation of some Immigrants

Interviewee	Intended Occupation	Actual Occupation
1.	Clerical Officer	Janitor
2.	Plumber	Mechanic
3.	Car Mechanic	Student (Welding)
4.	Teacher	Library Assistant
5.	Teacher	Office Clerk
6.	Accountant	Taxi Driver
7.	Economic Planner	Student (Business)
8.	Chemist	Restaurant Manager
9.	Pharmacist	Student (Fine Art)
10.	Microbiologist	Laboratory Assistant
11.	Mechanical Engineer	Home-maker
12.	Medical Officer	Research Assistant

Source: Home Interviews, Summer 1989 and Winter 1990

The problems can be classified into three groups:

i. those associated with length of residence, a, b, and c;

ii. those related to labour market conditions, d, e, and f; and

iii. those associated with the occupational skills and educational qualification of the immigrant, f and g.

The three groups are not mutually exslusive.

The degree of the immigrants' success in being employed in an occupation that is commensurate with their occupational skills and educational qualifications should then be determined by their length of residence, the labour market conditions, and the type of occupation. This observation was verified first by a simple cross classification analysis and secondly by a correlation analysis. Multiple regression analysis was not done on the data because some of the variables have a small number of observations.

The results of the analyses show that 60 percent (58 out of 97) of the immigrants have changed their professions. They are now in occupations which require lower skills than those they were engaged in before emigrating. Some are training in different occupations or improving upon their skills in order to increase their prospects of getting the type of employment they desire. With respect to length of residence, those who have arrived earliest have larger proportions now working in their occupations than the latest arrivals (Table 5.3). It can be concluded that the longer the immigrant gains Canadian xperience in Alberta, the more competent he or she becomes to overcome language difficulties,

Table 5.3 Occupational Adjustment by Period of Immigration

	Same Occup.		Diff. Occup.		Retraining	
Period of Migration	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1980-1982	18	51.4	11	20.4	1	25.0
1983-1985	12	34.2	11	20.4	2	50.0
1986-1989	5	14.3	32	59.2	1	25.0
1980-1989	**35**	**100.0**	**54**	**100.0**	**4**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, December 1989-January 1990

establish connections, etc., and improve his or her prospects of finding a job in his or her occupational or related field.

The immigrants' ability to find employment commensurate with their educational and occupational qualification was further investigated by dividing the immigrants into two broad groups on the basis of their occupational skills - those with skills based on Mathematics and Science (Computer analysts, scientists, medical officers, engineers, pharmacists, etc.) and those in professions whose skills are based on language and culture (teachers, lawyers, planners, economists, social workers, etc.). This type of investigation was done in an earlier study by Alberta Career Development and Employment (1986). Their findings showed that immigrants with the first type of skills have greater proportions working in their fields than those of the second group. This was explained by the greater requirement of some cultural experience and language ability for the second group of professionals. The present study, however, found a weak relationship between the ability of immigrants to practise their profession and the type of occupation as classified above. The former is related to the latter by a correlation coefficient of 0.32. The reason is that, apart from computer analysts and a small number of engineers, those in the mathematical and scientific field of occupation were having problems in practising their professions that were as great as those of their counterparts. The reason is that the accreditation of their qualifications is difficult, takes a long time, with the result that some give up and enter other fields of occupation. Thus, further investigation of the relationship between the immigrants' ability to find employment in their occupational field and labour market variables revealed that lack of accreditation of educational or occupational qualifications was the most significant of all the problems they have been facing. The Alberta Career Development and Employment developed a framework of career-decision process of immigrants with University degrees based on the 1986 study; it shows that immigrants may give up practising their professions and seek employment elsewhere because of the long process and cost involved in obtaining accreditation of their certificates.

The findings of the present study on the determinants of immigrants' ability to practise their professions in Alberta support earlier researches in the field which also reported similar relationships

Table 5.4 Overview of Underemployed Immigrants

Occupation in Alberta		Occupation in Country of Origin
Custodians	4	2 teachers, 1 accountant, 1 engineer
Lab technicians	4	2 teachers, 1 engineer, 1 computer Ph.D
Draftsmen	4	2 engineers, 1 building designer, 1 pilot
Counsellors	2	College lecturer, economist
Waitresses	2	Lawyer, teacher
Seamstress	1	Biology teacher
Car salesman	1	Economist
Daycare worker	1	Civil engineer
Carpenter	1	Track and field coach
Salesperson	1	Administration manager
Cook	1	Radiology technician
Housekeeper	1	Romanian language teacher
Hog producer	1	Zootechnical engineer
Warehouseman	1	Food Technology engineer
Building manager	1	Water resources engineer (Ph.D)
Total	**26**	

Source: Alberta Career Development and Employment 1986, 10

(Richmond and Verma 1978, Mundende 1982, Alberta Career Development and Employment 1986, Beaujot 1988). The Alberta Career Development and Employment 1986 study, for example, found that underemployment (of occupational skills) was higher among those immigrants who had been in Alberta for the shortest period of time, and that it could be expected that many of them will move on to jobs

which are more related to their educational and professional training in course of time. Table 5.4 shows the comparison of the occupational status, before and after emigration, of 26 (37.1 percent) of the immigrants in that study who said they were underemployed. They had been in Alberta for three to five years. They also reported similar barriers to finding employment in their occupational fields, as those cited by the interviewees in the present study. It must be noted here that Polish immigrants formed 43 percent (30 out of 70) of the immigrants in the Alberta Career Development and Employment 1986 study. Hence there are similarities in the findings of that study and the present one with regard to occupational adjustment of the immigrants.

Income of the Immigrants

As a result of the low-skill jobs taken on by most of the immigrants, they have very low family income. The average annual family income of the 96 respondents, as at the time of the survey, was $15,540 (There were 12 of them who did not have families, and therefore gave personal income). Over a quarter of them had annual family income below this average, ranging from $14,999 to under $3,000. The level of income of the immigrants is very low compared to that of other residents of the province of Alberta and Canada as a whole (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Average Family Income of Immigrants Compared with Those of Other Residents

Category	Average Family Income
Polish Immigrants (1989)	15,540
Edmonton (1986)	41,681
Calgary (1986)	45,751
Alberta (1986)	40,740
Canada (1986)	37,827

Source: Field Survey, December 1989-January 1990 (Polish Immigrants), Statistics Canada 1986 (All Others)

The average income of the Polish immigrants, as shown in Table 5.5, was less than half of that of any other group of Canadian residents in the table. Taking into consideration the fact that the level of income rose for the other residents between 1986 and 1989, it is obvious that there is an even greater disparity in their income and that of the Polish immigrants. Furthermore, since the average educational qualification of the Polish immigrants is higher than those of the other Canadian residents, the disparity in their incomes is even more striking.

In terms of the distribution of the family-income groups, the Polish immigrants are worse off than any other group of Canadian residents (Table 5.6). Though the Polish immigrants had the lowest

Table 5.6 Distribution of Family Income Groups of Polish Immigrants and Other Canadian Residents (percentages)

Category	Polish Alberta (1989)	Edmonton (1986)	Calgary (1986)	Alberta (1986)	Canada (1986)
Under $5,000	2.1	3.5	3.4	3.8	3.6
$5,000-$9,999	4.2	3.7	3.2	3.9	4.7
$10,000-$14,999	16.7	6.1	5.4	6.8	8.1
$15,000-$19,999	13.5	8.0	7.2	8.9	9.1
$20,000 and over	63.5	78.7	80.8	76.6	74.5

Source: a. Field Survey, December 1989-January 1990, Statistics Canada 1986
b. Statistics Canada 1986

percentage of groups having an income under $5,000, their proportion with income of $20,000 and over is the lowest, 63.5 percent. In Edmonton and Calgary, where most of the immigrants reside, the proportion with income of $20,000 and over is 78.7 percent and 80.8 percent respectively. Moreover, the Polish immigrants who have family income of $20,000 and over are concentrated in levels between $20,000 and $35,000 while the other Canadian residents have about half of this category in levels between $35,000 and $49,000.

The economic adjustment process the immigrants have been experiencing is difficult, and has been characterized by an initial decline in the economic status of many of them, especially those with high skills and professionals. Some of them have been able to overcome the obstacles to their advancement or at least have maintained their status. But many more, particularly those whose certificates are not recognized, are yet to be integrated in the Alberta economy; they cannot use the occupational skills which they have acquired prior to their migration.

B. Social Adaptation of the Immigrants

We shall now consider the social life of the immigrants, specifically their relationship with other Poles and their association with Polish ethnic organizations. We shall also consider the implications of the economic and social life of the immigrants for their future plans.

The economic problems which these recent Polish immigrants have faced in Alberta were common to those of their predecessors. The response of the earlier Polish immigrants to these problems was rarely an attitude of hopelessness. Rather, they teamed up in communities and different organizations and helped one another in various ways (financially, emotionally, etc.) to ease the difficult adjustment process (Krychowski 1969, Radecki 1979, Heydekorn 1985, Makowski 1987). As a result, there have developed a large number of Polish aid and fraternal organizations and ethnic communities in many provinces of Canada.

The Polish ethnic organizations, which have been voluntary, have played a vital role in preserving the cultural heritage of Poland for Polish immigrants and their children in Canada. The common Roman Catholic background of the great majority of Poles was a catalyst to the formation of most of the Polish ethnic organizations in the past. Polish history developed around the Roman Catholic faith and the culture of the nation has a strong Catholic base. In the new country, Poles built their own parishes, language schools, credit unions, and other institutions and organizations which have enhanced the preservation of their culture and the maintenance of ethnic ties among them. The benefits of these organizations to the newcomer were greater financial support by credit unions, emotional support from

ethnic communities or organizations, spiritual support in the church parishes. Thus, the ethnic organizations play an important role in the adaptation of the immigrants.

In the 1970s, when the Church and parish affiliations are taken into consideration, the Polish community in Canada maintained over 300 different institutional organizations and associations with a membership that amounted to about 20-25 percent of the total Polish ethnic group in Canada (Radecki 1977, 1). Membership rates were far higher in earlier times, and the recent rates are very low in comparison with other Canadian rates of participation in voluntary organizations (Curtis 1971, Matejko 1973, Canadian Polish Congress, Alberta Branch 1982). A number of writers have noted that participation in Polish ethnic organizations has been declining since the 1970s (Radecki 1979, Avery and Fedorowicz 1982). It has been suggested that apart from the contribution of some personal factors (on the part of the immigrants) to the declining interest in ethnic associations, their greater dependence on public departments for assistance during their adjustment period might also have weakened their ties with other Poles and the whole Polish community. Some writers, for example Matejko and Radecki, have also noted that the type of activities in which the Polish ethnic organizations engaged have not been appreciated by the recent immigrants, whose first priority is to improve their socioeconomic status in Canada and, therefore, desire to make greater contacts with the Anglo-Saxons. They find meetings of the ethnic organizations boring and having little to offer them. Matejko (1973, 122-123) made the following comment on this situation:

> The people in the new group of immigrants represent relatively high professional qualifications ... The still relatively well preserved Polish parochial community is not very attractive to these immigrants. Both those who speak English and those who are only just learning it cannot, and do not want to remain only within the compass of the local Polish community, in which one still meets a considerable number of people who speak English poorly, who do not have any contact with the Anglo-Saxons and who do not really know Canada very well.

The present study examined the factors which contribute to the immigrants' lack of interest in ethnic activities and organizations in the light of the observations made above. The immigrants were asked about their membership of and involvement in Polish ethnic associations as well as their interest in relating to the wider society.

Ethnic Association Membership and Social Ties

The immigrants were asked to describe their involvement in Polish ethnic organizations on a scale ranging from "very active member" to "not a member", and also to give any reasons which they might have regarding their participation. Only 2 out of the 100 respondents said they were active members of any Polish ethnic organization. Another 8 indicated that they are quite actively involved, while 25 said they are casual members. The remaining 65 said they do not belong to any Polish ethnic organization at all (Table 5.7). There were differences in membership rates by denominations. Roman Catholics have a higher rate of membership (40 percent) than their counterparts (10 percent). Moreover, while over 10 percent of Roman Catholics are either very active or active in the ethnic organizations, none of the non-Roman Catholics is. As noted earlier in this chapter and in chapter two, Poles are predominantly Roman Catholics. Currently, about 95 percent of the Polish nation are of that faith. Ninety percent of the respondents are also Catholics. The culture, traditions, and customs of the Polish society were fashioned by the Roman Catholic faith and practices. Many Polish ethnic organizations have been affiliated with parishes of the Roman Catholic Church (Radecki 1979). Poles who are not Roman

Table 5.7 Immigrants' Membership of and Involvement in Polish Ethnic Organizational Activities

	Number			Percentage		
Involvement	Rom. Cath.	Others	All	Rom. Cath.	Others	All
Very active	2	0	2	2.2	0.0	2.0
Active	8	0	8	8.9	0.0	8.0
Quite active	24	1	25	26.7	10.0	25.0
None at all	56	9	65	62.2	90.0	65.0
All categories	**90**	**10**	**100**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, December 1989-January 1990

Catholics may not therefore patronize their activities as much as the Roman Catholics, who, by their

faith, may be more attached to the Polish culture. This does not, however, necessarily imply that non-Roman Catholic Poles are less interested in preserving the Polish culture in Alberta through their participation in the activities of their ethnic organization.

The immigrants were asked to state the major reason why they have not participated in Polish ethnic organizational activities or enrolled as members of any such organization. Eighty-nine percent of those in the category (58 out 65) said they are busy about their jobs and many other concerns so much so that they do not have any time left for such activities. They hope that one day they will get involved. In the light of this reason, one would expect that membership and participation rate should be higher for those of them who have stayed longer in Alberta. There was, however, no such indication. In fact, the immigrants' membership of and degree of involvement in the ethnic organizations does not vary by sex, age, type of occupation, or by any other characteristics significantly, except by denomination. This is not unexpected, because all of them, except seven, have said that they desire to preserve their Polish culture in Canada and that it is their greatest priority with regard to their social life. The majority have also indicated that they have very close ties with other Poles in Alberta.

Some social characteristics of the immigrants give an indication that the immigrants may be inactive in their ethnic organizations temporarily. Ninety percent of them are Roman Catholics and 96 percent have spouses who are also Polish. In view of the fact that the Polish ethnic organizations, particularly those under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Chruch, are attractive to Poles of Roman Catholic background, these immigrants, who are predominantly Catholics, will get involved in them. Again, since their spouses are also of Polish background, they may not sever ties with their brothers and sisters on the grounds of exogamous marriage. Already, the immigrants' attendance rate at Polish Roman Catholic churches is high. A total of 82 out of the 90 immigrants who are Catholics indicated that they are attendants, 40 of them attend regularly while 42 do so occasionally. Only 8 of the Catholics are not members of any Polish Roman Catholic church at all. Four of the respondents who are not Roman Catholics, indicated that they attend Polish Roman Catholic churches occasionally. It can, therefore, be said that they are more of peripheral members than non-members, under Reitz' typology

of ethnic group ties (Table 5.8).

It may also take an articulated effort on the part of the existing ethnic organizations to arouse and sustain the interest of the recent Polish immigrants in their activities. There are potentials for

Table 5.8 Reitz' Classification of Ethnic Group Involvement

	Group Identification	
Social Interaction	Identify with Group	Do not Identify with Group
Interact with others of same ethnic ancestry	i. Full members	iiA. Latent members
Do not interact with others of same ethnic ancestry	iiB. Nominal members	iii. Non-members

Source: Adapted from Reitz, J. G. 1980, 93

success in such a venture. The majority of immigrants do not belong to any other organization at all in Alberta. Only 15 percent (15) and 9 percent (9) of them belong to a professional organization and social club respectively. Furthermore, the Polish community still plays a vital role in the provision of material and other needs for the immigrants on their arrival (Table 5.9). Provision of material gifts, counselling, etc. could create bonds of friendship and ties among the new arrivals and the larger Polish community, as it did in the past (Romanko 1982, Makowski 1987). It would be necessary for the leaders of the ethnic organizations to identify and provide those needs of the immigrants which may not be provided by public institutions, and thereby attract them into their midst. A restructuring of their activities to benefit the recent immigrants is also important, as has been identified by other writers (Matejko 1973, Radecki 1982).

In the light of the difficulties the recent immigrants are facing, particularly with regard to their economic life, one might ask if they intend to continue staying in Alberta. As noted in the previous

Table 5.9 Sources of Some Basic Needs of Immigrants Immediately After Arrival in Alberta

	Clothing	Money	Advice	Temporary lodging	Help in finding accommodation	Help in finding job
Polish organization	4	4	13	4	9	5
Polish Church	2	2	4	1	1	2
Canada Immigration Dept.	18	38	28	30	21	15
A voluntary organization	6	1	6	1	6	3
Relatives	4	3	11	10	7	7
Friends and Acquaintances	9	3	47	18	22	34
Family	0	3	11	7	5	7

Source: Field Survey, December 1989-January 1990

chapter, their main motive for coming to this province was to improve their economic status as well as to provide a better future for their children. We now consider how successful they have been in achieving this goal.

Life Satisfaction in Alberta and Future Migration Plans

The immigrants were asked to evaluate various aspects of their life and indicate how satisfied they have been. Both the pilot survey and the home interviews show that the immigrants appreciate this question very much, because they have not thought about it seriously themselves. In their evaluation, they recognize that despite the difficulties they were facing in the labour market, they have enjoyed peace and personal freedom which they were deprived of in Poland under the various communist regimes. It is, however, surprising that the responses to the survey questionnaire do not indicate any significant differences between levels of job satisfaction and satisfaction in other areas of life. Contrary

to expectation, only 5.1 percent (5 out of 98) said they are very satisfied or satisfied with aspects of life regarding personal freedom, while 29.5 percent (28 out of 95) and 7.1 percent (7 out of 98) said the same about job satisfaction and living standard respectively (Table 5.10). The greater proportions of the immigrants who do not know how satisfied they are with their non-economic, as compared to their economic, life, is also striking. One may conclude that despite the adjustment problems in their economic life, the immigrants may not be hopeless about the future in this area of their life. Indeed, when they were asked about their perception of prospects of finding employment in their occupational fields, more than one-fifth of them said they will be successful in getting one in the course of time. Only 14 out of 100 said they may not find it at all, and will therefore leave Alberta in the near future. The rest indicated that they will find the desired job when they have more education or improve their occupational skills.

Table 5.10 Immigrants' Level of Life Satisfaction in Alberta

	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Quite Satisfied	Not Satisfied	Do not Know
Job	9	19	26	28	13
Living Standard	2	5	29	45	17
Personal Freedom	3	2	19	33	43
Political Freedom	9	1	10	34	43
Social life	2	12	33	36	15
General Opportunities	19	7	19	32	22

Source: Field Survey, December 1989-January 1990

The immigrants do not seem to be optimistic about opportunities in Alberta. Over one third

of them are not satisfied with life on the whole, and a quarter do not know.

Such a state of affairs regarding the general life of the immigrants gives the researcher the impression that the immigrants may return to Poland, when conditions in that country improve, or to some other countries. But 53 percent (53 out of the 100 interviewees) said they will continue to stay in Alberta, and only one said he or she will return whenever conditions improve in Poland. Ten percent said they may move to another Canadian province or another country in future. As many as 23 percent of them said they do not know whether they will continue to stay in Alberta or not. The rest, 12 percent, did not say anything about their future migration plans. Over a third of the immigrants have not decided to settle permanently in the province.

Most of the immigrants who intend to continue staying in Alberta are those who have found jobs in their occupational fields or expect to find one. There was a correlation coefficient of 0.31 between the intention to continue to stay and the practice of one's occupational skills (Figure 5.1). While about 90 percent of those who are employed in their occupational fields intend to continue to stay in Alberta, only a little over 40 percent of those who are not working in their occupational fields at present say they will continue to stay. There are frustrations and disappointments associated with the inability to practice one's profession such that those immigrants in such situations do not intend to continue to stay in Alberta.

The intention to continue to stay is however not positively related to the level of job satisfaction and general opportunities per se (Figures 5.2a and 5.2b). Contrary to expectation, lower proportions of those who have lower levels of job satisfaction and satisfaction in all other areas intend to continue staying. It may be that those who have had higher levels of job satisfaction and subsequently greater success in their economic life are now more daring, and so willing to move into another country or province than their counterparts who are yet to establish themselves.

The duration of stay in Alberta is a determinant of the immigrants' future migration plans. The longer their stay in Alberta, the more likely they are to continue to stay. While 29 percent of those who arrived 7-10 years ago (1980-1983) will continue to stay, only 12 percent of those who arrived 6 or less

FIGURE 5.1 OCCUPATION BEFORE AND AFTER MIGRATION AND FUTURE MIGRATION PLAN

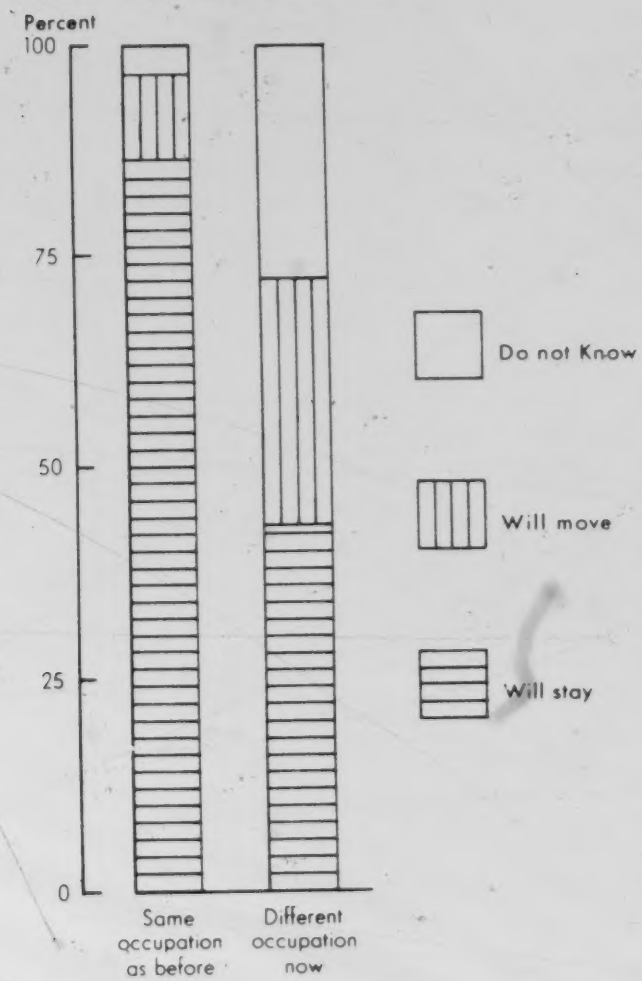


FIGURE 5.2 JOB SATISFACTION AND SATISFACTION WITH GENERAL OPPORTUNITIES AND FUTURE MIGRATION PLAN

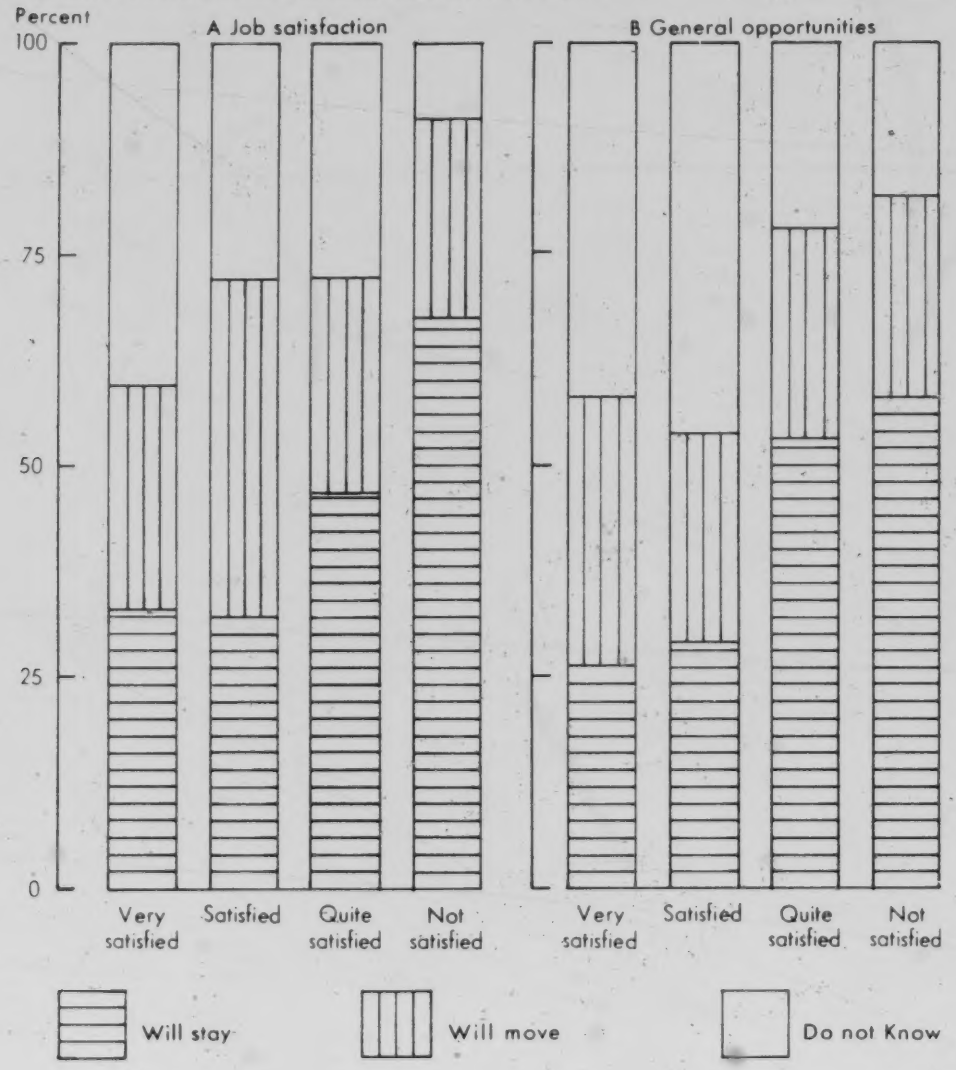
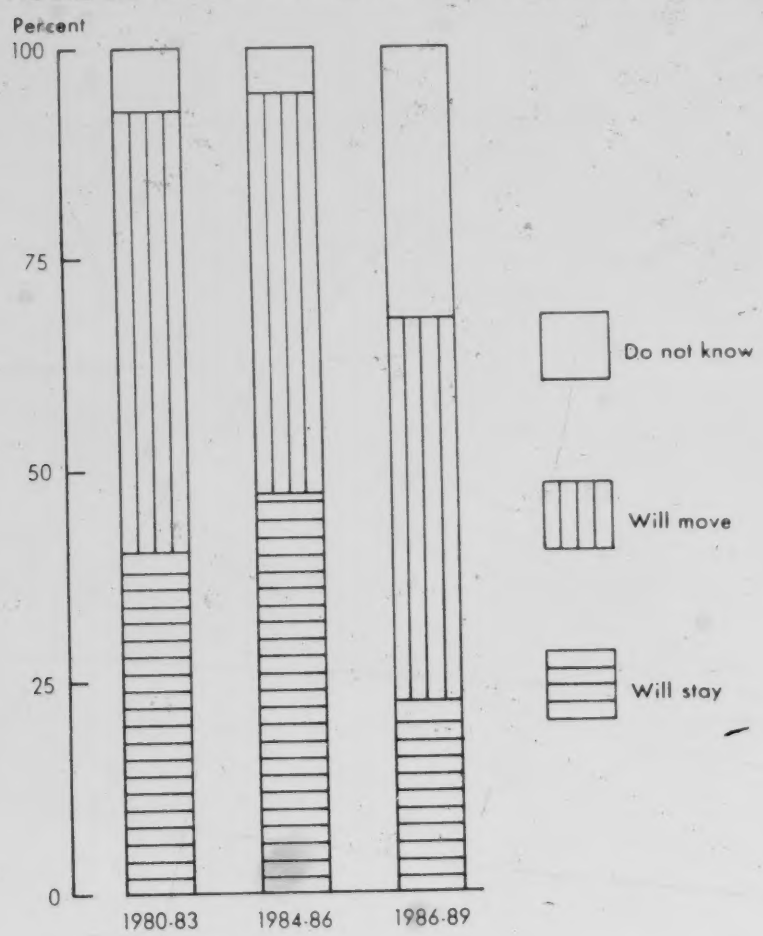


FIGURE 5.3 PERIOD OF ARRIVAL AND FUTURE MIGRATION PLAN



years ago intend to continue staying. Greater proportions of the most recent arrivals have also not yet decided whether to move or continue to stay (Figure 5.3). It can be concluded that the longer the immigrants stay in Alberta, the greater their success in economic life and the more likely it is that they will decide to continue staying. An attempt was made to find out if the adjustment experience and the associated future migration plans of the immigrants varied by any spatial variables, for example, region of origin, migration path, or present place of residence in Alberta. There were very insignificant differences spatially. This suggests that the socioeconomic and personal characteristics of the immigrants were more important in their adjustment process than either the spatial or any other factors.

The consequences of the migration process for the Polish immigrants have been felt more clearly in their economic life than in any other aspect of their life. Many of the immigrants have not yet decided whether they will continue to stay in Alberta or not. Those who said they will do so are the most successful in their occupational integration. The key factor in the adaptation process of the Polish immigrants has been time. The longer their duration of residence, the more familiar they become with the Canadian society and the greater the prospects of successful economic life. But for some of the highly qualified professionals, the attitude of employers and the requirements by professional bodies regarding the accreditation of qualification may be the main determinants of their successful integration into the Alberta economy.

VI. CONCLUSION

A. Summary of Findings

Canada has been one of the major destinations of Polish emigrants during the 1980s, as it was in previous times. During the decade, Poland emerged among the top ten countries of last permanent residence of immigrants admitted to Canada. A total of 38, 790 arrived in Canada from 1980 to 1989. The major intended destinations of the Polish immigrants in Canada were Ontario, Alberta, and Quebec, chosen by 56 percent (21,754), 14 percent (5,307), and 11 percent (4,089), of them respectively.

Throughout this period, Polish immigrants arriving in Canada from Poland as last country of permanent residence were smaller in number than those who were of Polish origin by birth. This situation has prevailed since the 1950s. It has been due mainly to two factors. Firstly, there were restrictions on emigration from Poland for political and economic reasons. The communist authorities adopted a number of administrative and bureaucratic measures to discourage people from leaving the country. But they left as tourists or visitors to other countries, from where they finally emigrated to their destinations. These have been the easiest means of getting out of the communist world. Also, some of the Poles who were stranded abroad immediately after World War II were now coming to Canada, although they were few in number.

Indirect emigration was a prominent feature of the Polish immigration to Alberta in the 1980s. Fifty-five percent of the respondents to the survey questionnaire of the present study indicated that they left Poland as tourists or visitors to families abroad. As many as 77 percent of the respondents emigrated temporarily to a third country before arriving in Alberta at a later date. The main third countries are West Germany, Austria, Greece and Italy, where over 70 percent of the Polish emigrants went to. These countries have maintained the most liberal policies towards immigrants in general and refugees in particular during recent years. In fact, all except Greece have been traditional destinations of emigrants from Poland. Greece has been an important vacation destination which is relatively cheap and contiguous to Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, the customary vacation resorts for the Poles in recent years. The third countries have, however, limited opportunities for permanent settlement for immigrants. For

this reason, and also because of the previous imperialist acts of Germany towards Poland, the Polish emigrants did not continue to stay there. Germany has been accepting large numbers of ethnic Germans (also from Poland) and is not, therefore, willing to grant asylum to too many others. They spent an average of 1.2 years in these countries, where they lived as refugees or temporary workers. Among the indirect immigrants were also some highly educated persons who left Poland for professional trips to Western Europe where they applied for a Canadian visa. The rest went to work in the Middle East and oil producing African countries, where they prepared financially for their journey. Third countries have played a vital role in the emigration of the Polish immigrants from their country.

The Polish community in Alberta has also played a major role in the sponsorship of the immigrants. During the period 1980 to 1987, they sponsored or assisted more than one-third of all the Polish immigrants who arrived in the province as family sponsored immigrants (30 percent) and assisted relatives (9 percent). Only 4 percent of all the immigrants arrived in the independent immigrant class. Polish ethnic organizations also sponsored 15 percent of those who arrived in the refugees and designated classes. This category alone constituted 56 percent of all the classes of immigration during the same period.

The political factors that caused massive emigration from Poland in the 1980s, and the Canadian government's response to the conditions in that country, explain why the majority of the immigrants arrived as refugees. In 1982, following the imposition of martial law on the Polish population by the communist military government, the Canadian Government announced that an unlimited number of Polish refugees would be allowed to enter Canada. This country has traditionally maintained a moderately humanitarian immigration policy to assist refugees and people in refugee-like conditions, as a major component of her overall immigration programme.

Polish immigration to Alberta in the 1980s has been determined by four sets of factors: political and socioeconomic conditions in the country; opportunities for temporary emigration to third countries, enhanced by the geopolitical position of Poland; Canada's immigration policy; and the presence of Poles in Alberta, measured in terms of their sponsorship of their families and brothers and sisters from

Poland. Upon the basis of these, we accept the hypotheses that the political processes which took place in the country during the 1980s, and its geopolitical position were both positive and negative factors in the immigration process. The hypothesis that the opportunities for temporary stay in the third countries played a dominant role in the Polish-Albertan immigration, is also tenable on the same basis.

Political strife and the increased economic crisis which had begun earlier in communist Poland were the main causes of the massive emigration from the country during the 1980s. Fifty-two percent of immigrants in the survey indicated that they emigrated from Poland because of the political conditions in the country. Another twenty percent left for economic reasons, and the rest for family related and other reasons. The hypothesis that though political factors predominate in the migration decision of the immigrants other socioeconomic factors also influence it is tenable upon the basis of these findings.

The Polish immigrants arriving in Alberta in the 1980s are predominantly of urban background. Over 60 of them came from 7 major cities of Poland as their last place of residence: Warsaw, Lodz, Szczecin, Gdansk, Poznan, Katowice, and Krakow. Thirty percent came from Warsaw and Lodz alone. The majority, 88, came from the southern, central, and western parts of Poland, which are the most urbanized and economically developed regions of Poland. These areas have also experienced the greatest impact of the political strife which existed in the country during the 1980s. Only 12 percent of them came from the least developed and urbanized south-eastern and north-eastern parts of the country. The immigrants are highly educated and more of them are in the managerial and professional occupational group, compared with their predecessors. Edmonton and Calgary were the intended destinations of more than eighty-five percent of them as a result of the occupational opprtunities in them for these highly educated and skilled immigrants. Thus the hypothesis that the economic characteristics of the immigrants determined their intended destinations in Alberta is acceptable. The already large communities of Polish immigrants in these two cities is also a reason for the choice of them by the immigrants since most of them were joining their families or were family sponsored immigrants. But the immigrants educational and occupational characteristics is a major reason.

The adjustment process of the immigrants has been quite difficult for a majority of them,

despite the facilities and services provided by the provincial department responsible for immigration and settlement, and the assistance offered by the Polish community and other benevolent societies. The most difficult part of this process has been related to the economic life, specifically job search. The most highly educated and the professionals have had the greatest difficulty in this regard. The majority of them are now in occupations which are not commensurate with their educational qualifications and occupational skills. The most common problem facing them is the lack of recognition of their certificates or educational qualifications. Limited proficiency in English and lack of Canadian experience are other major obstacles to the immigrants' success in economic life. These obstacles tend to be overcome in the course of time. Length of stay and success in finding a job that is commensurate with one's educational qualification and occupational skills are not, however, highly correlated for some professional types of occupational groups, like medical officers, pharmacists, accountants, and engineers. For these categories of occupational groups, the accreditation of certificates is a more important factor for their success in the job market than their length of stay. The procedures involved in having certificates recognized (retraining) are long and expensive. Some of the immigrants give up and settle for other types of jobs. Overall, those in occupations which require mathematical skills (computer analysts, engineers, etc.) have been the most successful in finding occupations in their field, though some in these fields have also had some problems in the labour market.

The difficult economic adjustment has influenced the social life of the immigrants. The present study considered their involvement in Polish ethnic organizations and activities as an important aspect of their social life, in view of the current promotion of multiculturalism in Canada and that of Polish ethnic group organizational activities. Recent Polish immigrants arriving in Alberta have not, however, been enthusiastic about such ethnic organizations, and avoided membership or participation in their activities. Previous writers have noted that the immigrants are not interested in enrolling in ethnic organizations because they think that such organizations and the whole ethnic community are not attractive for the type of lifestyle they desire to adopt here. Moreover, socioeconomic advancement is their priority. They, therefore, prefer to relate to the wider society in order to gain Canadian

"experience" and improve their knowledge of English, which are prerequisites for their socioeconomic mobility. The present author, however, found that the ethnic organizations and community life are not necessarily just unattractive to the immigrants. Rather, their difficult economic adjustment is responsible for their lack of involvement. They indicated that so much time is taken looking for a job or retraining in another occupation that they cannot participate in such ethnic activities. The fact that they are active members of Polish Roman Catholic parishes indicates that they are interested in ethnic organizations and their activities. Eighty-six percent of all the 100 respondents and 91% of all those who are Roman Catholics indicated that they attend Polish Roman Catholic churches regularly or occasionally.

The hypothesis that the migration experience has had impact on the socioeconomic life of the immigrants is tenable upon the basis of these findings. They set out with the motive of having a better life - economic, social, and political. The socioeconomic experience has been rather below the expectation of many of them. Job satisfaction, specifically finding a job that is commensurate with their educational qualification and occupational skills, is the greatest desire expressed by these immigrants.

The origin of the immigrants, their migration path, and their residential location in Alberta do not have any significant impact on their adjustment and adaptation. The socioeconomic and personal characteristics of the immigrants have rather been the most important factors which have influenced their migration experience.

The decision of the immigrants to continue to stay or re-emigrate is also related to their economic life, specifically job satisfaction. Those who have had problems in this area are the most likely to re-emigrate. Only fifty-three percent of them stated that they intend to stay in Alberta. Another 10 percent indicated that they will move to another province in Canada. As many as 23 percent of them say they do not know whether they will continue to stay or not, and 2 percent said they will move to another country.

B. Policy Implications and Recommendations

The Canadian immigration programme is currently undergoing a number of reviews and

changes. The aim of this exercice is to revitalize and reorganize the whole programme (EIC 1989). The overall purpose of this is to achieve the economic, demographic, and social objectives set forth in the Canadian immigration policy. Improvements in the provision and availability of settlement facilities and services for immigrants form an important component of the rehabilitation programme. Already, immigrants have benefited from more settlement facilities and services in recent years than those who arrived at the beginning of this century, or even some thirty years ago when ethnic institutions played a vital role in this area.

However, on the basis of the present study and some other ones reviewed by the author, immigrants' access to settlement facilities and services regarding job search needs urgent attention. The main problem that must be considered is the accreditation of certificates or the recognition of educational qualifications of immigrants. Presently, many of Canada's highly qualified and professional immigrants are not utilizing their occupational skills to the fullest. They are doing jobs which are below their qualification. Their economic lives are characterized by frustration and disappointment due to lack of job satisfaction. Some have left the country as a result of this problem. The resources used in settling these immigrants are thus wasted since the country cannot gain from their skills. About a third of the respondents to the questionnaire of the present study may leave Alberta in future because of the problems they are facing in the job market.

The author is of the view that Canada will gain more from its immigration programme economically when these problems are tackled at the national level. A commission has already been set up to work on this (The Globe and U, October 1989). There is the need to involve the professional bodies, the sponsors of immigrants as well as the immigrants themselves in this task.

Another task which needs to be undertaken in line with immigrant adjustment is the development of a system to inform potential immigrants about what they should expect in Canada. In many cases, the hopes of immigrants are far above the realities at the destination. Such information units may be located within the consulates serving potential immigrants applying to come to Canada. Families and friends may not do this sincerely, because migrants are wont to tell stories of success rather

than those of failure for the sake of their dignity or the expectations of others.

The Polish ethnic organizations may also be effective in taking on this "information building" unit for potential immigrants. They do some of these already. In addition, the services they provide for incoming Polish immigrants may have to include more counselling on labour market conditions and related matters. This is not to suggest that such services, which are already provided by Alberta Career Development and Employment, be duplicated. There is a sense in which this counselling, when done by people who have gone through the same experience and who speak the same language as the immigrants, may be more appealing than when it is done in English, a language in which the incoming immigrants are not yet proficient.

C. Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research

In surveys on migration where retrospective information is obtained, it is not possible to be confident that the information is completely reliable. This limitation applies to the present study. Moreover, in the case of the respondents in this study, the fear of providing information about themselves, which was part and parcel of life in their former communist country, might have caused them to provide incorrect answers to some of the questions. Their experience also contained many emotional circumstances that might have made them either exaggerate their intensity or avoid recalling them. Memory lapse as well as immigrants' possible refusal to recall some aspects of the immigration experience might have affected the findings of the study.

A note of caution must also be sounded regarding the findings of the field survey. A total of 100 respondents, out of an estimated 4,000 who make up the population studied, is so small that the generalizations from the research have to be taken with care. Despite this limitation, the findings are indications of the conditions of the immigrants which may be investigated in future with a more representative sample. The sample size alone of any research does not, however, guarantee the accuracy of its findings.

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APPENDIX A

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON MIGRATION

A. Ravenstein's Laws of Migration

There are many theories of migration in contemporary migration literature. This is due mainly to three factors: first, the complexity of the phenomenon; second, the diverse conceptualizations of migration by different disciplines, which have also used different approaches of study; third, some have been based on deductive reasoning, while others are empirical studies. A review of all of them is beyond the scope of this study. The discussion is limited to the major ones and those that are relevant to the present study.

Theoretical formulation on migration was pioneered by Ravenstein (1885, 1889). In reaction to a statement by Farr (1876) that migration appeared to go on without any definite law, Ravenstein carried out an empirical study on the factors which influence migration. He analysized the birth place data of the 1881 British Census, and also data from over twenty countries, and summarized his findings into what he called the "Laws of Migration". They consisted of theoretical statements about patterns and distance of migration, migratory streams, migratory motives, and characteristics of migrants :

1. Migration and distance:

(a) "The great body of migrants only proceed a short distance" and "migrants enumerated in a certain centre of absorption will ... grow less as distance from the centre increases.

(b) "Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce and industry".

2. Migration by stages:

(a) "There takes place consequently a universal shifting or displacement of the population, which produces 'currents of migration', setting in the direction of the great centres of commerce and industry which absorb the migrants.

(b) The inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth flock into it; the gaps thus left in the rural population are filled up by migrants from more remote districts, until the attractive force of one of our rapidly growing cities makes its influences felt, step by step, to the most remote corner of the kingdom.

(c) The process of dispersion is the inverse of that of absorption and exhibits similar features.

3. Stream and counterstream: Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current.

4. Urban-rural differences in propensity to migrate: The natives of towns are less migratory than those of the rural parts of the country.

5. Predominance of females among short distance migrants: Females appear to predominate among short journey migrants.

6. Technology and migration: ... an increase in the means of locomotion and a development of manufactures and commerce have led to an increase of migration.

7. Dominance of the economic motive: Bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings and even compulsion (slave trade, transportation), all have produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these currents can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire in most men to 'better' themselves in economic respects (Ravenstein 1889, 286-289).

Ravenstein's laws of migration formed the basis of later theoretical developments in migration studies. Moreover, the regularities in migration which he observed have been supported by empirical studies done in different geographical areas and social settings (Bogue et al. 1953, 1957; Okun and Richardson 1961; Thomas 1972; Fielding 1975; Caldwell 1976; Ng 1975; Marr 1977; Simmons et al. 1977; and Shaw 1985). Lee (1966, 47) reformulated the laws and remarked that "Ravenstein's paper has stood the test of time and remain the starting point for work in migration theory".

B. Lee's General Theory

Lee (1966) used deductive reasoning to restate Ravenstein's findings as a general theory. He

suggested that the decision to migrate and the process of migration can be conceptuapized within the framework of factors associated with: (1) the area of origin, (2) the area of destination, (3) intervening obstacles, and (4) personal factors (Figure 1.1, p. 24). He then asserted that the factors at origin and destination are positive, negative, and neutral. Positive factors at the origin are those which cause people to stay, while at the destination they are those which attract people to move there. The negative factors at the origin are those which encourage potential migrants to move away, while at the destination they are the factors which discourage potential in-migrants from moving there. The neutral factors are those which have essentially no impact on migration decisions. According to Lee, some factors affect most people in much the same way, while others have different effects on different people

The intervening obstacles are distance, physical barriers, immigration laws, and related factors that impede the movement of migrants from their origin to the destination. Some of them are surmountable while others are not, depending on their nature as well as on the personal characteristics of the migrants. Personal factors include the awareness of and sensitivity to conditions elsewhere, resistance to or acceptance of change by the individual, and many more individual attitudes and motives. At any time, there is a natural inertia at any place, and migration occurs when the influence of factors that produce movements outweigh that of factors which restrain it.

Lee formulated some hypotheses also about the volume of migration, the development of streams and counter-streams, and the characteristics of migrants from his general framework. They are essentially a restatement of Ravenstein's Laws of Migration.

C. Typologies of Migration

By typologies of migration is meant the classifications of different kinds of territorial movements, based on certain criteria. They also refer to the causes and the results of the various forms of movements (Fairchild 1925, Petersen 1958, Gould and Prothero 1975, Beaman and D'Arcy 1980, Krishnan and Odynak, 1987).

Perhaps one of the best typologies of migration is the one developed by Petersen (1958). He based his construction on several criteria: the most important of the criteria are the forces that cause migration, and the motives for migration (conservative and innovative purposes)..He also identified various types of interaction and the associated migratory force.

His classification has some weaknesses though. He failed to incorporate some important variables of migration such as distance, influence of economic structural changes (the main determinant of rural-urban migration, for example), and time into his framework. Some writers in the field have also criticized him on other accounts.

Goldscheider (1971: 35) criticized Petersen's assertion that the consequences of migration may be defined or predicted accurately by the migrant or the activating agency. Instead, they "may be innovative or conservative irrespective of, or sometimes contrary to, the motives of the migrant or activating agencies". Moreover migration can become innovative in terms of the resulting socioeconomic structure, demographic, and political processes at the destination, or even as a consequence of the cultural and personal changes in the migrant, or both.

Following on from Goldscheider's criticisms, Krishnan and Odynak (1987) pointed out, among other things, that the consequences of migration should be considered not only at the time of migration, but also after migration has taken place. They argued that the assimilation process of the migrant, for example, has the potential of causing the migrant in the innovative category, for instance, to move up or down, or maintain his socioeconomic status. They also asserted that there exists a third type of consequences of migration - movement for survival in the event of natural and man-made disasters, in which cases "the person who moves has nothing in his mind than to move out" (p. 386). These are neither conservative nor innovative migrants, though they may end up being one or the other. This observation led Krishnan and Odynak to the conclusion that instead of the conservative-innovative dichotomy in Petersen's typology, at least a trichotomy of the consequences of migration must be considered. They applied the trichotomy model to the six Canadian immigrant classes (family, assisted relatives, refugees, entrepreneurs, self-employed, and independent) and also at two points in time - time

of arrival and later. They also provided an extension of Petersen's typology which includes more classes of migrants.

As a result of this work it has become clear that the migration phenomenon is determined by many variables. Any generalization of different types of movements requires that as many variables as possible be incorporated into the models used by researchers studying the process. Kosinski and Prothero (1975) suggested that several criteria can be used to generate a multidimensional matrix showing different types of movement. Beaman and D'Arcy (1980, 9) also argued that: "... mobility cannot be measured by a single measure but must be measured along several dimensions.

Nonetheless, the simple typologies based on fewer dimensions of movement types may be correctly selected to explain a given mobility observation if the criteria and the concept of the typology are relevant to the purpose of the study. Indeed, despite the limitations of Petersen's typology, it is relevant to Polish-Albertan immigration. His consideration of the forces of migration, and of the consequences of migration to the migrant can be used to analyze the present waves of migration from Poland to Alberta. For example, the interaction between State and Man in Petersen's typology is identifiable with the Communist government's administration and the people's resistance to communism. The high aspirations of the emigrants for both political and personal freedom, and for better socioeconomic conditions of living were important forces making for emigration from Poland during the 1980s. Previous waves of migrants also aspired to better socioeconomic opportunities in Alberta (Krychowski 1969, Palmer, H. 1985, Makowski 1987).

The consequences of migration, as considered in Petersen's typology, is an important subject in international migration studies. Each migrant has certain characteristics: demographic (age, sex, marital status, etc.), social (social status, educational qualification, cultural background, including language and religion), occupational, and economic, as well as attitudinal orientations and beliefs which may differ markedly from those prevailing in the society at the destination. Although some of these characteristics cannot change (for example, sex and ethnic background), many of them do, as a result of the process of adjustment and adaptation. Migration does not only consist of a change of physical location, but also a social and behavioural change in the individual. The geographical impact of migration, which consists of changes in the spatial patterns and activities (White and Woods 1980), derives from the characteristics of migrants and the changes thereto. This study examines the consequences of migration for the Polish immigrants in the light of the above discussion.

D. Spatial Models

Most spatial theoretical frameworks on migration have dealt with the relationship between the volume of migration and distance. Distance (expressed in physical and/or cost terms) was traditionally interpreted as a geographical barrier, given the expectation that migration between two places diminishes as distance increases. The volume of migration over a given distance is described by a "distance-decay" function. The most notable statements about the theoretical relationship between the volume of migration and distance travelled from origin to destination are found in the gravity models, whose fundamental principles were provided by Zipf (1946).

Zipf's model (sometimes referred to as the P1P2/D hypothesis) is expressed mathematically as:

$$M = \frac{P_1 P_2}{D}$$

where

M = volume of migration
$P_1 P_2$ = population of two places, and
D = distance between the two places.

Zipf applied the principle of attraction in physics to formulate his model and he supported it with empirical studies. He postulated that the volume of migration is directly proportional to the product of the populations of the places of origin and destination, and inversely proportional to the

distance between them. In other words, movement between two places increases as the population of one or both increases; and the greater the distance between the places, the lesser the volume of movement between them.

Support for the negative distance-migration relationship has been documented in a number of studies including the following: Levy (1966) and Gallaway et al. (1967). The model's emphasis on the gravity and potential concepts of human interaction have also been reviewed by a number of researchers (Carrothers 1956, Isard and Bramhall 1960, Olsson 1965a).

Furthermore, the variables in the P1P2/D hypothesis have been operationalized in relating the gravity concept in the model to the central place theory. Olsson (1965b) pointed out that the crucial idea in the central theory when related to migration is that, just as goods are purchased in the nearest place offering them, the potential migrant also first considers the type of place that can best satisfy his intentions. Then by minimizing costs and efforts, he eventually moves to the nearest satisfactory alternative. The number of inhabitants serve as an operational substitute for the variety of characteristics of alternative migration destinations, since the number of job opportunities, services, etc. at a place are highly correlated with its population size. The implication of this approach, in accordance with the central place theory, is that the migrant will never move from place i to j if k is larger and closer to i.

For purposes of field analysis, migration between urban centres with regard to distance is expressed in a mathematical relationship as:

$$M = fn\,(1 / D^n)$$

where

M = migration,
D = distance, and
n = some power estimated from the data.

Thus migration between urban centres is inversely related to the distance between them, and the number of migrants is positively related to the size (population) of the urban centres. Thus,

$$M_{i \rightarrow j} = k\,(P_i P_j / D^2_{i \rightarrow j})$$

where

$M_{i \rightarrow j}$ = migration from place i to j,
P = the population or some index of population at places i and j,
D = distance between places i and j, and
k = a constant related to the volume of migration at any specific time.

Olsson's (1965b) investigation of the intensity of migration between urban centres in Sweden confirmed some aspects of the model. Specifically, his findings confirmed the following two hypotheses: (1) migrants from small places moved shorter distances than migrants from large places, and (2) for migration flows from places larger than the place of origin, the migration distances decrease both with the size of the place of out-migration and with the size of the destination.

The gravity models are workable at both internal and international migration levels. At both levels, econonomic opportunities (high wages, educational facilities, social services, etc.) act as forces attracting migrants from places of origin and to their destinations.

The gravity models have some setbacks however; the main one being the lack of specification of direction of migration. They only show gross migration. Moreover, they (and other spatial migration models) have been formulated by applying theories developed in physical disciplines (Luciuk 1984, Wong, 1979). These physical laws have not, however, been found to be adequate for explaining human behaviour. The models are therefore no more than mechanical devices applied to social data since concepts like mass, potential, inertia, etc. have very little application in the migration process (Mundende, 1982). With the advances made in transport and communication technology, for example, travelling has become faster, easier, and cheaper, to the point that physical distance has almost ceased to be an important determinant of migration in our contemporary world. Commenting on the

inadequacy of the the gravity models Shaw (1975) pointed out that apart from their lack of explicit structure which Claeson (1969) also noted, their underlying assumptions that places are populated by standard people with identical needs, tastes and contacts, and that interaction intensity decreases over distance systematically in all directions are very questionable. He also criticized the assumption of systematic decrease of interaction over distance in all directions and asserted that all migrants do not seek advantages that are a function of population size as is demonstrated by return migration, compulsory moves, and migration of the highly specialized.

> Zelinsky (1979, 167-168) also noted the same shortcomings when he said:
>
> Among other shortcomings, the gravity model of migration works poorly at the micro, intra urban scale, and ... offers diminishing insights into long-distance migrations occuring in the advanced nations within the past dozen years. It is by definition, a-temporal, operating in an historical vacuum, and seems to suffer from some inherent logical flaws, not the least of which is a failure to account for either the initial or terminal state of the system.

A number of studies also do not find any support for the models. In their investigations, Claeson (1969) and Van Valey (1971), for example, found that there were powerful directional biases in the migration streams which rendered the gravity models of little predictive utility.

Directional aspects of migration have been studied extensively by geographers (Wolpert 1967, Tarver and Skees 1967, Lewis 1971, Adams 1969). Though such studies are generally descriptive, they provide some methodological considerations on the disaggregation of migration flows into "in", "out", and individual migration streams.

One advantage of the directional-bias concept is that it helps to overcome the limiting assumption in the central-place theory that interaction intensity, including relocation via migration, decreases over distance systematically in all directions. The relevance of the concept is well attested to by the recent migration experiences in Latin American and African countries. Single urban centres/primate cities have dominated migration fields irrespective of the proximity of other large urban centres or the distances involved (Caldwell 1970, Simmons et al. 1977). The migrant labour in these countries perceive more opportunities as being available in the primate cities than in others.

Probably the attraction of opportunities in places of destination are of greater importance to the actual migrant (not the potential migrant) than the limiting factor of distance, in physical or social terms. The role of opportunities at destinations is the subject of Stouffer's (1940, 1960) model. He also criticized the overemphasis on the role of distance in migration, and proposed the model of intervening opportunities and competing migrants. He hypothesized that the number of persons migrating a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at the place of destination and indirectly proportional to the number of intervening opportunities and the number of competing migrants from other sources. Thus:

$$I_{ij} = a\frac{(P_i P_j)^{b_1}}{(O_{ij})^{b_2}(C_{ij})^{b_3}}$$

where

I_{ij} = the interaction between places i and j,

P_i and P_j = the populations of places i and j respectively,

O_{ij} = the number of intervening opportunities measured by the total number of out-migrants in the circle centred midway between i and j and passing through i and j,

C_{ij} = the number of competing migrants measured by the total number of in-migrants in the circle centred on j and passing through i,

a, b_1, b_2, b_3 = constants.

The intervening-opportunities model stresses the importance of the attractiveness of areas of destination in terms of the opportunities (job, housing vacancies, etc.) they offer potential migrants. Distance, though still important (when considered as social or travel distance) becomes a less important factor determining the flow of migrants compared with its role in the gravity models. In the revised version of the original model, Stouffer considers importance of competing migrants in explaining

migration movements.

Stouffer's model has been supported by some empirical studies. The most commonly cited of these was carried out by Gale and Taeuber (1966) on migration between metropolitan areas in the United States with populations of at least 250,000 inhabitants in the period from 1955 to 1960. They found that the model accounted for over 90% of variation in their migration measure. On the other hand, however, Lewis's (1971) study of U.S. negro migration from the South to major negro urban centres for the periods 1935-1940 and 1955-1960 found that Stouffer's model performs only slightly better than the gravity models. He also noted that the intervening-opportunities variable, which is one of the basic elements of Stouffer's model, does not generally play a statistically significant role in it.

Some workers in the field have pointed out that the definition of opportunities is a limitation of Stouffer's model (Shaw 1975). There are basically two areas of employment opportunities: public and private establishments, and supporting services. To a large extent, supporting services, such as shops, taxis, etc., are indirect-employment opportunities that result from the other types of employment. Such indirect-employment opportunities must be derived by some measuring method.

Despite the above-mentioned shortcomings of Stouffer's model, its emphasis on the attractiveness of destination, and on competing migrants, and the little importance it places on the role of distance, makes it a more logically sound framework than the gravity models. With the improvement of transportation, physical distance has ceased to be an important barrier to migration. Moreover, the concept of competing migrants and intervening opportunities, when operationalized to include government immigration policy at destination also, make the Stouffer model a better tool for predicting international migration in our contemporary world.

Generally, the spatial models are yet to be furnished with sound theoretical explanations, though they have many empirical support. As descriptive models, they offer concepts which can be used to analyze migration data. In the meantime they are complemented by other theoretical formulations that refer to other aspects of the complex migration process.

E. Economic Models

Economists have dealt with the determinants of labour mobility, specifically the structural and other related factors that influence the volume or direction of migration movement. The main assumption in the economic models is that people move mainly for economic reasons: they move to areas of destination to avail themselves of better economic opportunities. Economic factors have therefore been considered as the most important determinants of migration. Shaw (1975: 53-56) has classified the major works done in this field into the following:

a. Description of the impact or role of out or in-migration on the economic adjustment of places of origin and destination: Migration is conceptualized as both a factor and a consequence of the modernization and growth of an economy. Some of the major contributions to this area are by Lee et al. 1957, Kuznets et al. 1960, Stone 1969, Vanderkamp 1970.

b. The performance of migration as a mechanism for the effective allocation of an economy's labour force: Rural-urban and interurban migration, in particular, are conceived of as mechanisms by which an economy's human resources are redistributed. Labour is regarded as a factor of production, and for it to be efficiently allocated, people seek those jobs in which they have the greatest return. The discussion of migration and labour market and wage theory are the subjects of studies by Okun (1968), Todaro (1969), Harris and Todaro (1970).

c. Labour force migration within a push-pull framework: This aspect of the economic interpretation of migration determinants explains inter-regional, intercity, and urbanward migration flows as functions of man's response to situations of economic stress at the origin (push factors), and opportunities at the destination (pull factors). A general situation of economic differentials in wages, employment prospects, and amenities are considered as the causative factors in the migration process, especially of movements of those in the labour-force age range (generally between 15-64 years).

Lowry's (1966) model and its modified versions remain the most important analytical tools in this area of economic research on migration. It takes the form:

$$M_{i \to j} = k \left[\frac{U_i}{U_j} \cdot \frac{W_i}{W_j} \cdot \frac{L_i L_j}{D_{ij}} \right] + e_{ij}$$

where

M_{ij} = the number of migrants from i to j,
U_i, U_j = unemployment as a percentage of the civilian non-agricultural labour force at i and j respectively,
W_i, W_j = hourly manufacturing wage-rates at i and j respectively,
L_i, L_j = the number of people in the non-agricultural labour force at i and j respectively,
D_{ij} = the distance from i to j,
e_{ij} = error term,
k = constant.

In the absence of unemployment and wage differentials, the Lowry migration model is represented as:

$$M_{i \to j} = k \left[\frac{L_i L_j}{D_{ij}} \right] + e_{ij}$$

It then looks like Zipf's model. Thus this model is more or less an extension of the gravity model with some economic variables included.

Modifications are usually made on the Lowry model by adding more variables (including social variables) to the equation. For example, government immigration policy and average family income can be added when analyzing data on international migration.

d. Returns to labour-force migration as a form of investment: Using the general investment theory, economists explain that migrants consider their expected returns to migration through a cost-benefit calculation when they decide to migrate. When migrants estimate that their expected benefits outweigh the cost of migration (pecuniary and non-pecuniary), then they decide to move. Migration therefore occurs when there are expected income differentials between the place of origin and destination. This area of study was pioneered largely by Sjaastad (1960, 1962) and developed later by others such as Brennan (1965), Bodenhofer (1967), Harris and Todaro (1970), and Speare Jr. (1971).

The economic models have overemphasized the role of economic variables in the migration process. It is probably true that in peacetime most people move for economic reasons, but even then some migrate to escape political or religious persecution or simply to fulfil a personal dream. Generally, we can say that migrants are seeking a better life. However, Shaw's (1985) study of the changing determinants of intermetropolitan migration in Canada, for example, has revealed that the influence of traditional market variables on migration, such as wages, unemployment, and cost of living, has diminished over time. It seems that higher standards of living and the pursuit of leisure may have dampened the response of migrants to labour market forces. He also observed that the growth of social-security programmes cushions the effects of unemployment as well as the motivation to migrate in search of better job opportunities. Shaw's study provides evidence for changing effects of traditional market versus fiscal variables over a relatively long period (30 years).

At the international level, political, social, and religious conflicts in countries of origin of immigrants (Speare 1974, UN 1982) are becoming important factors of migration.

The changing determinants of migration demand that further research in the field must go on. There has already been some response to this need, and new research approaches have been followed.

F. Behavioural Approaches

The behavioural approaches to migration studies are the most recent. They have focused on the evaluative process that the individual goes through before he finally decides to move and have thus introduced a shift from macro to micro analysis of the more subjective elements in the migration process. The need to study the influences of a person's mind, values, and attitudes on migration decisions using a behavioural approach stems from the fact that the objective migration models used so far, which work relatively well in predicting aggregate flows, can not explain migration decision-making

at the micro level. Accordingly, Lee (1966: 49) pointed out that:

> Since we can never specify the exact set of factors which impels or prohibits migration for a given person, we can in general, only set forth a few which seem of special importance and note the general or average reaction of a considerable group.

Shaw (1975, 105) is of the view that:

> ... in formulating predictive and explanatory statements on migration, the approach has largely been to (i) isolate objective structural determinants of migration, (ii) infer the influences of these determinants ..., and (iii) impute motives to the migrant. ... questions such as by what evaluative process do individuals arrive at decisions to migrate ... remained largely unanswered.

Perhaps the best known formulation is Wolpert's (1965) place-utility concept. The main theme of the place-utility consideration is that there are composites of utilities to be derived from alternative places of residence which are evaluated subjectively by the individual. Although it might be expected that the individual will locate himself at the place of highest utility, whether he does so or not depends on two factors: the individual's ability to adjust to the utility profile offered at his place of residence if it changes and secondly the information on the utilities to be had elsewhere. Thus information flows have been identified as important variables in migration decision-making processes. Wolpert(1965: 162) noted that:

> The generation of population migration may be considered to be the result of a decision process which aims at altering the future in some way and recognizes differences in utility associated with different places... Thus, the flow of population reflects a subjective utility evaluation by individuals.

In Wolpert's theory, information covers cost-benefit data as well as a host of psychological and socio-cultural information, such as languages, norms, and religious beliefs and practices. The potential migrant assesses the pecuniary and non-pecuniary costs and benefits of staying at his place of origin and also at the place of destination.

The importance and role of information flows about alternative places in migration decision have been noted by Brown et al. (1970), while Pryor (1976, 1981) reformulated the place-utility theory as the subjectively satisfying place-utility (SSPU).

Wolpert (1966) also suggested that studies of the decision to move could be approached in terms of stresses in the place of origin and the strain threshold of the potential migrant. His second approach, which deals more with residential mobility has been adopted in a number of intraurban mobility researches. In an earlier study by Rossi (1955), significant findings on the importance of residential complaints as a motive for moving has been documented. According to the stress concept, conditions considered to be noxious or potentially noxious affect the individual's basic satisfaction at his place of residence. When there is considerable stress in the individual's environment, his decision to relocate depends not only on available alternative residences but the individual's strain factor or ability to cope with stress.

Taylor (1966, 1969) has also approached the prediction of the decision-making process by relating an individual's subjective perception and evaluation of his place of residence to motivations which may trigger migration. On the basis of his study of 240 coal mining families from West Durham over the period 1963-1966 he proposed four types of migrants, each associated with a broad class of motivation:

1. Aspiring: Those groups of people who perceive migration and evaluate it as an opportunity for realizing ambitions and aspirations. The individual in this group is already somewhat dislocated in his or her association with primary and secondary groups.
2. Dislocated: A group of persons who view migration passively as a recurring solution to the limitations at place of origin, and therefore contain the promise as noted in aspiring type or the pain in resultant type.
3. Resultant: Those persons who perceive migration and evaluate it as an only alternative to factors such as unemployment or as a means to realize specific and limited objectives.
4. Epiphenomenal: Those groups of people who view migration as a means to contend with unique personal factors such as health, occurrence of divorce, etc..

The majority of migrants belong to the aspiring and dislocated groups. The four different groups

consider different arrays of factors in the migration decision-making process. In all of these groups however, perception and evaluation enter the process, though th epiphenomenal types may be said to entail the most subjective elements.

A number of sociological studies which have used the behavioural approach focused on the role of family (extended family or family cohesion) as either a stimulus or restraint to migration (Crawford 1966, Hubert 1965, Caldwell 1970). In these studies and others, the degree of association with an extended family system, and with a life-cycle stage, with or without family members, among other family factors, are believed to influence the willingness of the individual to migrate. Crawford's and Hubert's surveys reveal that, contrary to the widely held view that kinship ties and obligations serve to impede migration, those with close family attachments or identification were likely to receive financial support for migration and were just as likely to migrate as those with little family attachments.

The concepts of information flows, stress and strain, and family ties are relevant to the present study. The economic and political conditions that caused emigration from Poland during the 1980s, and the role of the migrants' family ties with regard to sponsorship could be discussed within such a framework.

Migration has also been found to be selective with respect to the populations at risk. We therefore turn to the theoretical considerations regarding this aspect of the subject.

G. Selectivity of Migration

Migration is selective of certain members of any population because it is caused by several factors which do not have equal effect on all people at any given place or time (Lee 1966, Wolpert 1966, Taylor 1969, Mabogunje 1970). Consequently, some variables have been identified as being associated with the selectivity of migration. The selectivity of migration is measured by comparing the personal, social, and economic characteristics of migrants with those of non-migrants at the origin. It has been observed that certain characteristics of migrants differ from those of non-migrants (Shryock et al. 1971)

Demographers and sociologists have been particularly concerned about researches which seek to establish the relationship between migration and the variables responsible for its selectivity. The variables that have received the greatest attention are age, sex, marital status, education, occupation, and position in the family life-cycle, labour-force status, income status, ethnicity, rural-urban difference, and home ownership.

From its inception, research on migration, regardless of line of inquiry, has noted that persons in their late teens, twenties, and early thirties are more migratory than other age groups (Ravenstein 1885, 1889; Thomas 1958; Herrick 1965; Caldwell 1968; Marr 1977; Singh 1988). In other words, migration varies with age and the greatest propensity to migrate is in the age group 20-29 years.

The explanation is that the young are able to adapt more easily to new situations. In addition, they either have, or are about to leave their parent's home, marry, have children, begin a career, and in general, assert their independence and individuality. They are therefore more readily disposed to taking advantage of new opportunities involving migration than older people who tend to be restrained by a host of social and economic ties at their place of residence.

The age selectivity of migration has been found to have more influence in the developing economies of today than the more developed ones of Europe and North America. Some recent studies in the developed economies have revealed that while migrants are mostly those in the younger age groups, age-specific migration rates do not taper off uniformly along the age continuum. Rather, there appears to be an increase of migrants in the age group 65-75 years. This upturn in migration over the ages 65-75 has been attributed to a number of factors, including labour force status, retirement, and widowhood (Prasad and Johnson 1964, Shryock Jnr. 1964, Miller 1966, Moss 1968, Cribier 1980, Lee 1980, and Northcott 1985).

It has been the view of researchers that males dominate long distance migrations while the same is true of females with regard to short distances (Ravenstein 1885, 1889; Thomas 1953; Caldwell 1968; Shryock Jr. 1964; George 1970).

Sex selectivity of migration has however been found to be quite inconsistent over time and space; it varies with particular economic, sociocultural, and temporal settings, as indicated in a number

of works (Caldwell 1968, Roussel 1970). In Africa and some parts of Asia, research has shown that where marriage is universal, exogamous, and characterised by patrilocal system of residence, migration becomes an inevitable experience for married women who have to move and join their husbands. In such societies, women tend to be more migratory than men as a result of this cultural factor (Podlewski 1975, Singh 1988, Simmons et al. 1977).

The findings of a considerable number of studies have observed that migration is highly selective with respect to education. The explanation given is that education helps the individual to be aware of opportunities, services, amenities, etc. that are available beyond his immediate environment. Education therefore acts as a key to information needed for migration decision-making. It also provides skills for jobs which are usually available elsewhere.

The proposition that migration varies directly with education has been attested to in studies such as those of Thomas 1958, Fein 1965, Caldwell 1968, Stone 1969, Marr 1977, and Bell 1980. In Marr's study of interprovincial labour-migration in Canada, he observed that migration rates rise with formal education and knowledge of both official languages, and that vocational training improves mobility.

Occupational selectivity of migration has been established by many studies (Rose 1958, Stub 1962, Tarver 1964, Campbell 1968, Richmond 1969, Stone 1971). These studies, among others, have noted that professionals, administrative and technical personnel, in short those who are highly skilled are more migratory than persons in other occupations. Furthermore, professionals are more migratory than non-professionals. The high propensity of professionals and skilled persons to migrate has been attributed to the fact that, whereas the supply of and demand for unskilled labour can be met within the local labour market, the same is not true for skilled labour; as such this type of labour must be obtained beyond the local, regional, or national boundaries. It follows that differentials in economic structure and labour composition of the population at the origin and the destination are necessary conditions for the occupational selectivity of migration.

Even though there has been a general speculation that single persons are more likely to migrate than those who are married, studies of the question reveal that there is a considerably higher proportion of married people among movers than single, widowed, or divorced people (Taeuber 1968, George 1970, Hollingsworth 1970, Long 1970, Girard et al. 1970, Podlewski 1975, Singh 1988). The general observation in these studies is that marriage implies residential movement away from the parents' place of residence. The critical factor to consider in the case of marital status and migration is the proportion of single or married people in the total population. Whichever is higher would tend to account for a majority of migrants even if the rates of migration are lower among them.

The interaction between marital status, age of married couples, and presence of children, has also been related to mobility in recent studies. Family status has been found to be related to mobility decisions, such that those married with children migrate less often than those without children (Ladinsky 1973, Long 1973). The conditioning effect of children has, however, been found to be dependent on the age of the children. Long's study, among others, revealed that the age of children is a critical factor that affects the mobility of the family. School-age children restrict the mobility of the family more than pre-school-age children. Moreover, the absence of children in the early years of marriage makes migration easier, though in advanced ages childless couples may be limited in their migration decision by the negative factor of old age. In short, in relating family status to mobility, family status subdivides into groups, depending on the age of the children.

The factors responsible for differentials in migration are, to a large extent, related and often interdependent. Researchers, notably sociologists, have made efforts to interrelate the significance of the various demographic and sociological factors in explaining the propensity of an individual to migrate. This, they suggest, can be done by considering the relevance of a person's position in the domestic life cycle and career patterns.

Domestic life cycle is considered broadly as providing both a particular orientation to the outside world and its influences and specific opportunities at different stages of the family (Nalson 1968). Subsequently, demographic factors, such as age, sex, and marital status, in combination with factors, such as family size, and homeownership status, are interpreted as circumstances that tend to influence an individual's propensity to migrate (Wolpert 1965, Ladinsky 1967, Alvarez 1967, Roseman 1971, Morrison

1975). Various stages of family life have been identified. Ladinsky suggested stages associated with childhood (pre-school age), education, marriage, family formation, career, and retirement. Alvarez also proposed the following stages as determinants of the characteristics of migrants and the timing of migration:

(a) beginning family (recently married, no children);
(b) childbearing family (oldest child of 2 1/2 years).
(c) childbearing family
- preschool children as dependants
- school children as dependants
- teenage children as dependants
(d) family as a launching centre
(e) empty-nest family
(f) aging family (retirement)

Career pattern, on the other hand, relates to the potential of individuals to better themselves through migration, if they so desire. The key factors suggested for estimating migration propensity of a person are: (a) education, (b) occupational status, (c) education combined with the individual's satisfaction with his present job and residence location, and (d) the individual's own evaluation of his prospects for upward social mobility.

Leslie and Richardson (1961) used the life-cycle and career-pattern theory to examine the residential mobility of 201 interviewees in Lafayette. They found that the most significant predictor of mobility was the respondent's estimation of his prospects for upward social mobility in combination with his educational attainments. They concluded that career pattern variables were more highly correlated with residential mobility than were the life cycle variables.

Morrison (1969), in another approach, identified three sources of constraints on the decision to migrate: (a) the life cycle, (b) the structural conditions associated with specific occupations, and (c) prior experience of moving. He then stated that:

> Mobility is evidently a cumulative process like fertility, linked to past experience as well as to current circumstances. Prior experience with mobility appears to foster a degree of learning and to facilitate subsequent movement... One possible explanation is that decision thresholds may be initially high for persons who have never migrated in their adult years. Once a move has been made and chastity vanished, so to speak, a process of learning apparently blunts subsequent inertia (pp. 13-14).

The view that people who move once are more apt to move again was noted earlier in a study by Van Arsdol et al. (1968). In another study, Davies (1966) asserted that some individuals are born-movers (chronic movers) while others are born-stayers.

Attempts have been made to construct general models of migration based on its selective components (Shaw, 1975). Apart from age selectivity, which has shown some consistency in several contexts over a long period of time, the other variables do not appear to show any regularities that can be turned into a general theory of migration selectivity. There are even some indications that certain patterns of migration selectivity, as well as the relative importance of the determinants of migration that influence its selectivity, appear to be changing in particular places over time (Simmons et al. 1979, Shaw 1985). This is particularly true of contemporary international migration. Consequently, the prospects of developing a general theory of migration continues to be challenged, not only by the proliferation of generalizations on the phenomenon, but also by its increasing complexity.

The basic questions that must be asked concerning any particular migration event have been answered in all the theoretical frameworks discussed above. White and Woods (1980, 1) have identified these as:

(a) why does migration occur?
(b) who migrates?
(c) what are the patterns of flows between origins and destinations?
(d) what are the effects of migration on the areas, communities, or societies that the migrants come from?

(e) what are the effects of migration on the areas, communities, or societies of destination?

The present study seeks to consider all aspects of the first three of these questions, while the impact of the migration experience on the individual migrant alone is examined with respect to the last two. In doing this, it takes advantage of the fact that the relevant migration theories on these questions have, essentially, used either of two different philosophical approaches: the objective or the cognitive (White 1980, 6; Luciuk 1984). The objective approach seeks to measure the characteristics of the physical or cultural landscape that facilitate or impede mobility. The theories of the spatial and economic disciplines, tend to, concentrate on this area. They do not generally pay attention to how the potential migrant views the environment. They impute the migration decision to migrants by observing certain processes in the environment that are associated with the event. The cognitive approach, on the other hand, seeks to appreciate human perception of the origin and the destination, personal characteristics, and the intervening obstacles that are involved in the decision-making process. The behavioural methodology is the dominant one in this area.

These two approaches are basically complementary in the view of the author. White (1980) has also suggested that a synthesis of the two approaches seems to be the most acceptable methodological perspective required for the study of migration phenomenon. There are indications that the existing migration theories may be integrated (Shaw 1975, Pryor 1981, Massey 1987). But until this happens, an interdisciplinary approach remains the most logical for researchers. In the present study, all the methodological approaches would be appropriate because the events that have caused migration in Poland during the 1980s can be discussed from the view point of the objective theorist, while the decision-making process can be examined under the cognitive theories.

There is, however, an important aspect of international migration that has received only slight attention in all the theoretical frameworks discussed above: immigration policies of states. The pioneer of migration theory, Ravenstein, only made mention of this in his second paper; Petersen (1958) no more than recognized this as a factor of migration. It is not strange that many other proponents of migration theory disregarded this since the frameworks have been developed for internal migration. The importance of the effect of control of governments over their borders has been so important that a study such as the present one, to which also migration policies at both the origin and destination of the migrants are relevant, cannot but consider them.

Refugee movements have also been neglected in the theoretical propositions on migration. It is rather surprising, because the phenomenon has affected all parts of the world and its impact has not been insignificant (Luciuk 1984). It has been estimated by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) that about 15 million refugees are currently moving from many parts of the world as a result of political, religious, and other social conflicts in their places of origin. Theorizing about refugees has probably been poorly done because the movement is more complex and more unpredictable than the other forms of movements.

Some attempts have, however, been made to categorize refugees (Keller 1975, Stein and Tomasi 1981). Keller identified the following as the major components of the refugee experience:

- perception of threat
- decision to flee
- period of extreme danger and flight
- reaching safety
- camp behaviour
- repatriation, settlement or resettlement
- early and late stages of resettlement
- adjustment and acculturation
- residual stages and changes in behaviour caused by the experience.

Keller's categorization is essentially descriptive but has much relevance for contemporary refugee movements. The movement of Poles from their country during the 1980s is no exception. Apart from the camp and repatriation experience, all the other components describe the manner in which most Poles fled their country and their present resettlement in Alberta. This framework will be very useful for the discussions in the present study.

Kunz's (1973) "kinetic model" of refugees is another landmark in the study of refugees. He propounded that refugee movements could be compared to that of billiard balls which, once forced to relocate, are governed by what he termed kinetic factors of inertia, friction, and the vectors of the outside forces applied to them. He also recognized that refugee movements are distinct and should be distinguished from voluntary types of movements.

The basic problem of Kunz's model is that he treats refugees as having no will of their own at all. Luciuk (1984, 51) also criticized him on this account when he said that the Ukrainian post-World War II refugees who came to Canada made some decisions about the future in the refugee camps. The Polish immigrants who are being considered in the present study also made such decisions in the third countries. One of such decisions was the choice of Canada, which was not an original idea of some of them before they fled Poland. The favourable response of the Canadian authorities to the conditions in Poland encouraged the Polish refugees to choose Canada as their destination.

In a later work, Kunz (1981) modified his model to include behavioural aspects of refugee movement, and he de-emphasized the kinetic elements. He could not, however, provide a succinct theoretical frame because of the elaboration of the concepts in the model. His ideas about adaptation of immigrants are worth considering.

Finally, the historical context within which many international migration flows have taken place has been noted to be lacking in the theories which seek to explain migration even as a process (Salt 1989, Zolberg 1989). In view of this, the historical background of the present migration flows from Poland have also been considered.

POLISH IMMIGRATION TO ALBERTA SINCE 1980

Survey Questionnaire, December 1989

1. a. Sex: 1. ☐ Male 2. ☐ Female b. Age ☐☐ years

2. Place of Birth: a. ☐ Country b. ☐ Province/Voivodship

3. I was born in a: 1. ☐ City/Town 2. ☐ Rural Community

4. What was your citizenship when you arrived at Alberta?

.....

5. I came to Alberta: 1. ☐ Alone 2. ☐ With my wife/husband

3. ☐ With my wife/husband and children

4. ☐ Alone, and joined later by my wife/husband, because .....
.....

5. ☐ Alone, and joined later by my wife/husband and children, because .....

6. Did you come directly from Poland to Alberta? (Please mark as many as apply to you).

1. ☐ Yes 2. ☐ No, I came from ..... (name of country)

3. ☐ No, I had to apply for visa/travel papers in another country

4. ☐ No, I had to work elsewhere to get more money

5. ☐ Other (please elaborate) .....

7. I left Poland as a:

1. ☐ Tourist 2. ☐ Visitor to family/relative/friend abroad

3. ☐ Refugee 4. ☐ Student (to study in another country)

5. ☐ Emigrant (migrated from Poland to live in another country)

6. ☐ Other (please specify) .....

8. Before coming to Canada how many times did you change residence in Poland, both within and without? (Include movement from one part of town/village to another also)

1. ☐ 1-5 times 2. ☐ 6-10 times 3. ☐ 11-15 times

4. ☐ More than 15 times 5. ☐ I never moved

9. Where was your last place of residence in Poland?

City/Town/Village:..... Voivodship:.....

10. Which were the most important reasons that made you decide to leave Poland? (Please put 1, 2, 3, ... in the boxes <u>in order of importance</u>).

☐ To avoid frustration, stress, lack of personal and political freedom, and other social problems.

☐ To stay away from the political situation in Poland.

☐ To stay away from the difficulty of getting accommodation, health services, and some other essential goods and services.

☐ To stay away from the environmental pollution and the related health hazards.

☐ To avoid job dissatisfaction and poor working conditions.

☐ To join my spouse or family.

☐ To find better job opportunities and higher living standard.

☐ A desire for adventure, travelling, or to explore the world.

☐ Other (please specify) .....
.....

11. When did you leave Poland?

.....(year) .....(month)

12. When did you arrive in Alberta? (Please write the date of your <u>last</u> arrival if you were in Canada at previous times)

.....(Year) .....(Month)

13. From Poland I went elsewhere before I came to Alberta?

	Country	Place of residence (eg.town, village, refuge camp, hotel)	Status (eg. worker student, refugee)	No. of Years or Months
1.				
2.				

14. Please complete the following if you were in a refugee camp:

Date of Arrival	Date of Departure	Country .....
Did you have any training? (for example, occupational training, English classes)		
How were you received/treated by the following? a. The camp officials .... b. Other inmates of the camp .... c. The local people		
Did you work officially or unofficially, type of work, or how you earned a living:		

15. Why did you decide to come to Alberta? (Please put 1,2,.... in order of importance).

- ☐ I had a job waiting for me.
- ☐ I thought I could get a job.
- ☐ My family/husband/wife/relative/friend invited me.
- ☐ I was sent there by immigration officials.
- ☐ Because of personal and political freedom in Alberta/Canada.
- ☐ Other (please specify) .....
  .....

16. How did you come to Alberta? (If you were in Canada at previous times indicate how you came the last time):

1. ☐ Sponsored immigrant by
2. ☐ A refugee sponsored by

   a. ☐ Family/Relative
   b. ☐ Canada Government
   c. ☐ A Polish Organization
   d. ☐ A friend
   e. ☐ Other (please specify) .....

3. ☐ tourist, and then stayed
4. ☐ student, and then stayed
5. ☐ Other (please specify) .....

17. What is your citizenship or status in Canada?

Now		When you arrived
1. ☐	Landed immigrant	☐
2. ☐	Canadian citizen by birth	☐
3. ☐	Canadian citizen by naturalization	☐
4. ☐	Other (please specify)	☐

18. When did you become a Canadian citizen? .....(Year)

19. Is this your first time of coming to Alberta/Canada?

1. ☐ Yes (please skip to Question 21)
2. ☐ No, I was in Canada at other times:

Arrived (year)	Departed (year)	Status (for example, visitor, tourist, landed immigrant)

20. Why did you not continue your stay at any of those times?

1. ☐ I was just visiting

2. ☐ I could not get any job so I left

3. ☐ I came to do further studies and left when completed

4. ☐ Other (please elaborate) .....

21. Do you intend to continue staying in Alberta now?

1. ☐ Yes, because .....
.....

2. ☐ No, I will return to Poland when political and economic conditions have improved.

3. ☐ No, I will just save some money and return to Poland.

4. ☐ No, I will return to Poland one day even if political and economic conditions do not improve.

5. ☐ No, I will go to another country because .....
.....

6. ☐ No, I will move to .....(name of province) because .....

7. ☐ I do not know

8. ☐ Other (please elaborate) .....
.....

22. How did you first come to think of Canada as your future country of residence? (Please mark as many as apply to you).

1. ☐ My husband/wife/parents/relatives in Canada invited me

2. ☐ I had visited Canada before and wished to come back and stay

3. ☐ I learned about Canada in books, magazines, on radio/TV etc.

4. ☐ I was attracted by Canada's environment (forests, lakes, open spaces, and mountains)

5. ☐ Other (please elaborate) .....
.....

23. When you arrived in Canada, did you come straight to Alberta?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No, I was in the following places too:

Province	Town/ Village	Year(s)/ Month(s)	Why I lived there	Why I left

24. Have you been living at the same town/village in Alberta since you arrived?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No I lived at the following places too:

Town/ Village	Year(s) Month(s)	Why I lived there	Why I left

25. In all how many times have you moved since you arrived in Alberta/Canada? (include movement from one part of town to another also).

1. ☐ 1-5 times
2. ☐ 6-10 times
3. ☐ 11-15 times
4. ☐ More than 15 times
5. ☐ I never moved

26. Please mark any of the following items which you might have received from the sources listed below when you arrived:

	Clothing	Money	Advice	Tempo-rary lodging	Help in finding accommo-dation	Help in finding job
Polish Orga-nization						
Polish Church						
Canada Immi-gration Dept.						
A Voluntary Organization						
Relatives						
Friends and Acquaintances						
Family						

27. What language did you first learn to speak in childhood?

1. ☐ Polish 2. ☐ Other (please specify) .....

28. Which language(s) do you mainly speak now:

At home? ..... At work? .....

With friends .....

29. Knowledge of English language:

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Reading				
Writing				
Speaking				
Listening				

30. What is the highest level of education you have attained?

In Poland		Elsewhere
1. ☐	None at all	☐
2. ☐	Elementary school	☐
3. ☐	Secondary school	☐
4. ☐	Technical or Vocational school	☐
5. ☐	University or equivalent	☐
6. ☐	Other (please specify).....	☐

31. What degree(s), diploma(s), or certificate(s) have you obtained? .....

32. What was your major field of study or training (for example nursing, accounting, civil engineering, medicine)?
.....

33. What was the exact occupation you were trained for and engaged in before coming to Canada?

Trained for .....

Engaged in .....

34. Are you now working in the occupation you were trained for?

1. ☐ Yes

2. ☐ No (please explain) .....

35. How long did it take you to find your first job (permanent, part-time, or occasional) when you arrived in Alberta?

..... (years/months)

36. Did you find a job as early as you expected?

1. ☐ Yes

2. ☐ No, (please explain) .....
.....

37. What is your present employment status?

1. ☐ Self-employed
2. ☐ Employed full-time
3. ☐ Employed part-time
4. ☐ Works occasionally
5. ☐ Full-time student
6. ☐ Home-maker
7. ☐ Out of job indefinitely

38. Do you think that in Alberta you will find the job that matches your educational and skill background and expectations? Mark as many as apply to you.

1. ☐ Yes, I have already found it
2. ☐ Yes, in course of time
3. ☐ After I improve my educational status
4. ☐ I may not find it
5. ☐ When I train for another occupation
6. ☐ When the economic situation improves
7. ☐ When I improve my knowledge of English
8. ☐ I will leave Alberta if I cannot find the job I want
9. ☐ Other (please elaborate) .....

39. Which of the following trainings have you had since you arrived in Alberta?

1. ☐ General education
2. ☐ Occupational
3. ☐ English classes

40. What is the annual income of your family? (Please indicate your annual income if you do not have a family):

1. ☐ Under $3,000
2. ☐ $3,000 - $4,999
3. ☐ $5,000- $6,999
4. ☐ $7,000 - $9,999
5. ☐ $10,000 - $11,999
6. ☐ $12,000-$14,999
7. ☐ $15,999- $19,999
8. ☐ $20,000 and over

41. What is your marital status?

	Now		Before coming to Alberta
1.	☐	Married	☐
2.	☐	Married but Separated	☐
3.	☐	Divorced	☐
4.	☐	Widowed	☐
5.	☐	Single (never married)	☐
6.	☐	Living with a common-law partner (someone of the opposite sex, though not married to him/her)	☐

42. What is the ethnic background of your wife?

1. ☐ Polish 2. ☐ German 3. ☐ Ukrainian

4. ☐ Other (Please specify) .....

43. Please provide the following information about the members of your household (children and adults):

Person	Age	Sex	Relationship to you	Employment Status
1st Person				
2nd Person				
3rd Person				
4th Person				
5th Person				
6th Person				

44. How satisfied are you now with the following aspects of your life in Alberta?

	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Quite Satisfied	Not Satisfied	Do not Know
Job					
Living Standard					
Personal Freedom					
Political Freedom					
Social life					
General Opportunities					

45. What are the major difficulties you face now or in the past in Alberta? .....
.....

46. Which best describe some of your most important needs at this time? (put 1,2, ... in the boxes in order of importance.

a. WORK

- ☐ To have more specific information about the occupation I am interested in (how to find the job, work condition, salary,etc.)
- ☐ To change my present job and find the type I am interested in
- ☐ To get official recognition for my training, qualifications, skills, and experience
- ☐ Other (please specify) .....

b. EDUCATION

- ☐ To learn basic English
- ☐ To improve my knowledge of English
- ☐ To acquire further education and more occupational skill
- ☐ Financial assistance for educational/occupational training
- ☐ Other (please specify) .....

51. Are the members of this/these organization(s) or clubs mainly

1. ☐ Polish
2. ☐ Anglo-Canadian
3. ☐ People of different ethnic origins
4. ☐ Do not know
5. ☐ Other (please specify) .....

52. Main activities of this/these organization(s) or club(s)?

1. ☐ Educational
2. ☐ Social
3. ☐ Sports
4. ☐ Religious
5. ☐ Political
6. ☐ Business
7. ☐ Other (Please specify) .....

53. If you have close ties with other Poles in Canada, is it by: (Mark as many as apply to you).

1. ☐ Visiting them regularly
2. ☐ Visiting them occasionally
3. ☐ Speaking to them on the telephone
4. ☐ Meeting them during activities organised by the Polish Community and Polish organizations
5. ☐ Other (please specify) .....

54. How have you been in contact with family/relatives in Poland? (Mark as many as apply to you).

1. ☐ By visiting them
2. ☐ By sending them gifts
3. ☐ By writing letters/telephone calls
4. ☐ Other (please specify) .....

THANK YOU ONCE AGAIN FOR YOUR HELP!

YOUR ANSWERS WILL REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL.

You can call me at 492-4158 (business) and 438-6042 (home) or Prof. L.A. Kosinski at 492-3287 or 492-0341 (business) if you have any questions about the questionnaire.

c. SOCIAL-PERSONAL AND GENERAL NEEDS

- ☐ To learn more about special services for immigrants
- ☐ To know more about the Canadian way of life
- ☐ To get acquainted with Canadian and other ethnic groups
- ☐ To deal with problems of adjusting to the new environment
- ☐ To be able to maintain the Polish way of life
- ☐ To get married
- ☐ Other (please specify).....
  .....

47. What is your religious denomination?

1. ☐ Roman Catholic
2. ☐ Orthodox
3. ☐ Other Christian
4. ☐ Jewwish
5. ☐ None
6. ☐ Other (please specify) .....

48. Do you attend the Polish Roman Catholic Church

☐ Regularly ☐ Occasionally ☐ Not at all

49. How would you describe your involvement in Polish organizations?

1. ☐ Very active member
2. ☐ Quite active member
3. ☐ Not active member
4. ☐ Not a member (please elaborate) .....
   .....

50. Please list any other organization(s) of which you are a member: .....
    .....
    .....

POLSKA IMIGRACJA DO ALBERTY PO ROKU 1980

1. a. Płeć: 1. ☐ Męska 2. ☐ Żeńska b. Wiek: ☐☐ lat

2. Miejsce urodzenia: a. ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐ b. ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐
Kraj Prowincja/Województwo

3. Urodziłem się: 1. ☐ w mieście 2. ☐ na wsi

4. Obywatelstwo w momencie przyjazdu do Alberty?

.....

5. Przyjechałem(łam) do Alberty: 1. ☐ Sam(a) 2. ☐ Z małżonkiem(ą)

3. ☐ Z małżonkiem(ą) i dziećmi

4. ☐ Sam(a) małżonek(a) dołączył(a) później z powodu .....
.....

5. ☐ Sam(a) małżonek(a) i dzieci dołączyły później z powodu .....
.....

6. Przyjechałem(łam) prosto z Polski do Alberty:

1. ☐ Tak 2. ☐ Nie, przyjechalem(łam) z ..... (kraj)

3. ☐ Nie, musiałem (łam) zdobyć wizę/dokumenty w innym kraju.

4. ☐ Nie, musiałem (łam) zarobić gdzieindziej.

5. ☐ Inne powody (jakie?) .....

7. Wyjechałem(łam) z Polski jako:

1. ☐ Turysta 2. ☐ Odwiedzić krewnych/przyjaciół

3. ☐ Uciekinier 4. ☐ Na studia zagranicą

5. ☐ Emigrant (z paszportem emigracyjnym na stałe zamieszkanie zagranicą)

6. ☐ W innym charakterze (jakim?) .....

8. Przed przyjazdem do Kanady zmieniłem(łam) miejsce zamieszkania (licząc przeprowadzki zarówno w Polsce jak i zagranicą)?

1. ☐ 1-5 razy 2. ☐ 6-10 razy 3. ☐ 11-15 razy

4. ☐ ponad 15 razy 5. ☐ zawsze mieszkałem w tym samym miejscu

9. Ostatnio mieszkałem(łam) w Polsce

w .....(miejscowość) .....(województwo)

10. Jakie były najważniejsze powody Twego wyjazdu z Polski (podaj w kolejności ważności 1, 2, 3, ...)

☐ Aby uniknąć frustracji, napięć, braku osobistej i politycznej swobody i innych problemów społecznych

☐ Aby być zdala od politycznej sytuacji w Polsce

☐ Aby uniknąć kłopotów mieszkaniowych, braków w służbie zdrowia i braku innych podstawowych dóbr i usług

☐ Aby być zdala od zatrutego środowiska i związanych z tym kłopotów zdrowotnych

☐ Aby uniknąć klopotów i złych warunków w miejscu pracy

☐ Aby połączyć się z małżonkiem (ą) lub rodziną

☐ Aby znaleźć lepsze warunki pracy i zapewnić sobie (i rodzinie) wyższy poziom życia

☐ Z powodu zamiłowania do podróży, przygód, aby poznać świat

☐ Inne (jakie?) .....
.....

11. Kiedy opuściłeś(łaś) Polskę lub inny kraj skąd przyjechałes(łas) do Alberty?

.....(rok) .....(miesiąc)

12. Kiedy przyjechałeś(łaś) do Alberty (wypadku poprzednich wizyt w Kanadzie podaj datę ostatniego przyjazdu na stałe)?

.....(rok) .....(miesiąc)

13. Po opuszczeniu Polski a przed przyjazdem do Alberty przebywałem(łam) w:

	Kraj	Miejsce zamieszkania (np. miasto, obóz, hotel)	W charakterze (np. pracownik, student, uchodźca)	Długość okresu w lat/mies.
1.				
2.				

14. Jeśli byłes(łaś) w obozie dla uchodźców wypełnij tabelkę:

a. Data przyjazdu ..... b. Data wyjazdu ..... c. Kraj .....

Czy uczyłeś(łaś) się czego ..... (np. kursy zawodowe, lekcje ..... języka)? .....

Jakie były stosunki?
a. z władzami obozowymi .....
.....
.....

b. z innymi mieszkańcami obozu .....
.....
.....

c. z miejscową ludnością .....
.....

Czy pracowałeś(łaś) - legalnie czy nielegalnie, jaki to był rodzaj pracy, jakie miałeś(łaś) inne dochody. .....
.....

15. Dlaczego wybrałeś(łaś) Albertę (podaj powody w kolejności ważności (1, 2, ...).

- ☐ Czekała na mnie praca.
- ☐ Myslałem(łam) że łatwo dostanę pracę.
- ☐ Moja rodzina/krewni/przyjaciele zaprosili mnie.
- ☐ Urząd imigracyjne mnie tu skierował.
- ☐ z powodu swobód osobistych i politycznych w Albercie/Kanadzie
- ☐ z innych powodów (jakich) .....

16. Jak przyjechałeś(łaś) do Alberty (jeśli byłeś(łaś) tu poprzednio podaj tylko ostatni przyjazd). Przyjechałem(am) jako:

1. ☐ Imigrant sponsorowany przez →
2. ☐ Uchodźca sponsorowany przez →
   - a. ☐ Rodzinę/Krewnych
   - b. ☐ Rząd Kanadyjski
   - c. ☐ Organizację polonijną
   - d. ☐ Przyjaciół
   - e. ☐ Innych (kogo?) .....
3. ☐ Turysta, potem zostałem(łam)
4. ☐ Student, potem zostałem(łam)
5. ☐ W innym charakterze (jakim?) .....

17. Mój status obywatelstwa/imigracji był/jest mastępujący?

Obecny		W momencie przyjazdu
1. ☐	Imigrant	☐
2. ☐	Obywatel Kanadyjski od urodzenia	☐
3. ☐	Obywatel Kanadyjski z nadania	☐
4. ☐	Inny (jaki)	☐

18. Jeśli masz obywatelstwo Kanadyjski to w którym roku je uzyskałeś(łaś) .....

19. Czy po raz pierwszy przybyłeś(łaś) do Alberty/Kanady?

1. ☐ Tak (opuść pytanie 21)
2. ☐ Nie, byłem(łam) w Kanandzie poprzednio:

Przyjazd (rok)	Wyjazd (rok)	Status (np. turysta, w odwiedziny, imigrant)

20. Dlaczego wówczas nie pozostałeś(łaś) na stałe?

1. ☐ Bo zamierzałem(łam) być tu tylko przez jakiś czas.
2. ☐ Nie mogłem(łam) dostać pracy
3. ☐ Przybyłem(łam) na studia i wyjechałem(łam) po ich ukończeniu.
4. ☐ Inne powody (jakie) .....

21. Czy zamierzasz nadal mieszkać w Albercie?

1. ☐ Tak, ponieważ .....
2. ☐ Nie, zamierzam powrócić do Polski jak tylko stosunki polityczne i ekonomiczne ulegną poprawie.
3. ☐ Nie, chcę tylko oszczędzić trochę pieniędzy i wtedy wrócę do Polski.
4. ☐ Nie, zamierzam kiedyś powrócić do Polski nawet jeśli sytuacja nie ulegnie poprawie.
5. ☐ Nie, zamierzam się przenieść do innego kraju ..... ponieważ .....
6. ☐ Nie, zamierzam się przenieść do innej prowincji ..... ponieważ .....
7. ☐ Narazie nie wiem.
8. ☐ Mam inne plany (jakie) .....

22. Dlaczego pomyślałeś(łaś) o Kanadzie jako o kraju imigracji (możliwe kilka odpowiedzi)?

1. ☐ Mąż/żona/rodzice/krewni w Kanadzie zaprosili mnie
2. ☐ Odwiedziłem(łam) Kanadę wcześniej i zawsze chciałem(łam) powrócić na stałe.
3. ☐ Wiedziałem o Kanądzie z książek czasopism, radia, telewizji, itp.
4. ☐ Pociągała mnie przyroda Kanady (lasy, jeziora, otwarta przestrzeń, góry).
5. ☐ Inne powody (jakie?).....

23. Czy po przybyciu do Kanady udałeś(łaś) się prosto do Alberty?

1. ☐ Tak.

2. ☐ Mieszkałem(łam) poprzednio w nastepujących miejscach:

Prowincja	Miejscowość	Okres rok/miesiąc	Dlaczego mieszkałeś(łaś) tam	Dlaczego wyjechałeś(łaś)

24. Czy ciągle mieszkasz w tej samej miejscowości od przyjazdu do Alberty?

1. ☐ Tak.

2. ☐ Nie, ponadto mieszkalem(lam) w nastepujocych miejscowosciach:

Miejscowość	Rok/miesiąc	Dlaczego tam mieszkałeś(łaś)	Dlaczego sie wyprowadziłeś(łaś)

25. W sumie ile razy się przenosiłeś(łaś) od przyjazdu do Alberty/Kanady (łącznie z przeprowadzkami z jednej dzielnicy do drugiej)?

1. ☐ 1-5 razy

2. ☐ 6-10 razy

3. ☐ 11-15 razy

4. ☐ ponad 15 razy

5. ☐ ani razu

26. Zaznacz proszę jaką pomoc otrzymałeś(łaś) z następujących źródeł po przyjeździe do Kanady:

	Odzież	Pieniądze	Porady	Czasowe miejsce zamieszkania	Pomoc w znalezieniu mieszkania	Pomoc w znalezieniu pracy
Organizacje polonijne						
Polski Kościół						
Kanadyjski Urząd Imigracyjny						
Organizacje dobroczynne						
Krewni						
Przyjaciele i znajomi						
Bliska rodzina						

27. Jaki jest Twój język ojczysty (pierwszy język w dzieciństwie)

1. ☐ Polski 2. ☐ Inny (jaki?) .....

28. Jaki językiem posługujesz się najczęściej?

W domu? ..... W pracy? .....

Wśród przyjaciół .....

29. Znajomość języka angielskiego:

	Bardzo dobra	Dobra	Niezła	Słaba
W czytaniu				
W piśmie				
W mowie				
W słuchaniu				

30. Jaki jest poziom Twego wykształcenia?

Z Polski		Poza Polską
1. ☐	Szkoła podstawowa nieukończona	☐
2. ☐	Szkoła podstawowa ukończona	☐
3. ☐	Szkoła średnia ogólnokształcąca	☐
4. ☐	Szkoła średnia zawodowa	☐
5. ☐	Szkoła wyższa (uniwersytet)	☐
6. ☐	Inne (jakie?)	☐

31. Czy masz jakiś dyplom, świadectwo, stopień, tytuł (jaki?)
.....

32. Jakie masz przygotowanie zawodowe, np. pielęgniarstwo, księgowość, inżynieria, medycyna?
.....

33. Jaki był Twój zawód wyuczony i wykonywany przed przyjazdem do Kanady (podaj możliwie szczegółowo)?

Wyuczony .....

Wykonywany .....

34. Czy pracujesz obecnie w swoim wyuczonym zawodzie?

1. ☐ Tak

2. ☐ Nie (dlaczego nie?) .....
.....

35. Ile czasu zajęło Ci znalezienie pierwszej pracy po przyjeździe do Alberty?

..... (Lata/miesiące)

36. Czy pierwszą pracę znalazłeś(łaś) tak szybko jak się tego spodziewałeś(łaś)?

1. ☐ Tak

2. ☐ Nie (dlaczego) .....
.....

37. Czym się obecnie zajmujesz?

1. ☐ Pracuję na własny rachunek
2. ☐ Zatrudniony w pełnym wymiarze
3. ☐ Zatrudniony w niepełnym wymiarze
4. ☐ Pracuję dorywczo
5. ☐ Student/uczeń
6. ☐ Zamuję się domem
7. ☐ Czasowo bezrobotny
8. ☐ Bezrobotny

38. Czy sądzisz że znajdziesz w Albercie pracę odpowiadającą Twojemu poziomowi wykształcenia, przygotowaniu zawodowemu i Twoim oczekiwaniom?

1. ☐ Tak, już ją znalazłem(łam)
2. ☐ Tak, z czasem
3. ☐ Po zwiększeniu moich kwalifikagi
4. ☐ Chyba nie
5. ☐ Po przekwalifikowaniu się
6. ☐ Jak się poprawi ogólna sytuacja gospodarcza
7. ☐ Kiedy lepiej opanuję angielski
8. ☐ Wyjadę z Alberty jeśli nie znajdę tu odpowiedniej pracy
9. ☐ Inna odpowiedź (podaj szczegóły).....

39. W jakim zakresie poprawiłeś(łaś) swoje wykształcenie po przyjeździe do Alberty?

1. ☐ Ogólne
2. ☐ Zawodowe
3. ☐ Język angielski

40. Jaki jest roczny dochód Waszej rodziny (jeśli jesteś sam (a) podaj własny):

1. ☐ Poniżej $3,000
2. ☐ $3,000 - $4,999
3. ☐ $5,000 - $6,999
4. ☐ $7,000 - $9,999
5. ☐ $10,000 - $11,999
6. ☐ $12,000- $14,999
7. ☐ $15,999- $19,999
8. ☐ Powyżej $20,000

41. Jaki jest Twój stan rodzinny?

Obecnie		Przed przyjazdem do Alberty
1. ☐	Żonaty/Mężatka	☐
2. ☐	Separowany(a)	☐
3. ☐	Rozwiedziony(a)	☐
4. ☐	Wdowiec/Wdowa	☐
5. ☐	Kawaler/Panna	☐
6. ☐	Żyjący razem bez formalnego ślubu	☐

42. Jaka jest narodowość (pochodzenie etniczne) Twego małżonka(i)?

1. ☐ Polska 2. ☐ Niemiecka 3. ☐ Ukraińska
4. ☐ Inna (jaka) .....

43. Podaj dane o wszystkich członkach gospodarstwa domowego:

Osoba	Wiek	Płeć	Stosunek pokrewieństwa do respondenta	Stan zatrudnienia
1.				
2.,				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				

44. Na ile zadowolony(a) jesteś z różnych aspektów życia w Albercie?

	Bardzo zadowolony(a)	Zadowolony(a)	Dość zadowolony(a)	Niezadowolony(a)	Nie wiem
Praca					
Poziom życia					
Swoboda osobista					
Swobody polityczne					
Życie towarzyskie					
Szanse życiowe					

45. Jakie są Twoje najważniejsze (obecne lub minione) kłopoty w Albercie? .....
.....
.....

46. Jakie są Twoje główne potrzeby obecnie. Podaj w kolejności ważności zaczynajec od najważniejszych (wstaw cyfry 1, 2, ... w kwadraty).

a. PRACA

- ☐ Znalezienie konkretnych informacji na temat pracy (jak znaleźć pracę, jakie są warunki pracy, płaca itp.)
- ☐ Znalezienie lepszej pracy i zmiana zatrudnienia
- ☐ Uznanie moich kwalifikacji i mego doświadczenia zawodowego
- ☐ Inne (jakie?) .....

b. WYKSZTAŁCENIE

- ☐ Poznanie angielskiego
- ☐ Poprawa znajomości angielskiego
- ☐ Poprawa mego poziomu wykształcenia ogólnego i zawodowego
- ☐ Uzyskanie pomocy finansowej na dalsze kształcenie
- ☐ Inne (jakie?) .....

c. OSOBISTE I OGÓLNE

- ☐ Uzyskanię dalszych informacji o specjalnych usługach dla imigrantów
- ☐ Lepsze zaznajomienie się z kanadyjskim stylem życia
- ☐ Nawiązanie kontaktów z Anglo-kanadyjczykami i innymi grupami etnicznymi
- ☐ Przystosowanie się do nowego środowiska.
- ☐ Zachowanie polskich tradycji i polskiego stylu życia
- ☐ Zawarcie małżeństwa.
- ☐ Inne (jakie?) .....

47. Jakie jest Twoje wyznanie?

1. ☐ Rzymsko-katolickie
2. ☐ Prawosławne
3. ☐ Protestanckie
4. ☐ Żydowskie
5. ☐ Inne (jakie?) .....

48. Czy uczęszczasz do polskiego kościola rzymsko-katolickiego?

1. ☐ Regularnie
2. ☐ Czasami
3. ☐ Nigdy

49. Jak określasz swoje uczestnictwo w organizacjach polonijnych?

1. ☐ Bardzo aktywny członek
2. ☐ Dość aktywyny członek
3. ☐ Członek ale niezbyt aktywyny
4. ☐ Nie należę do żadnej (dlaczego?) .....
.....

50. Do jakich innych organizacji klubów należysz:
.....
.....
.....

51. Kim są członkowie tych organizacji/klubów

1. ☐ Polacy 2. ☐ Anglo-kanadyjczycy
3. ☐ Ludzie o różnym pochodzeniu etnicznym 4. ☐ Nie wiem
5. ☐ Inni (kto?) .....

52. Jakie są główne cele tych organizacji?

1. ☐ Edukacyjne 2. ☐ Towarzyskie 3. ☐ Sportowe
4. ☐ Religijne 5. ☐ Polityczne 6. ☐ Zawodowe(business)
7. ☐ Inne .....

53. Czy utrzymujesz kontakty z innymi Polakami w Kanadzie a jeśli tak to w jaki sposób:

1. ☐ Regularne odwiedziny 2. ☐ Rzadkie i sporadyczne odwiedziny
3. ☐ Rozmowy telefoniczne 4. ☐ Spotkania w czacie imprez polonijnych
5. ☐ Inne (jakie?) .....
.....

54. Czy masz kontakt z rodziną w Polsce?

1. ☐ Odwiedziny 2. ☐ Wysyłka paczek
3. ☐ Listy i rozmowy telefoniczne
4. ☐ Inne (jakie?) .....

Raz jeszcze dziękuje za pomoc i odpowiedź na moją ankietę. Raz jeszcze zapewniam. Cię że odpowiedzi Twoje będą trakto wane poufnie.
Jeśli masz jakieś pytania w sprawie tego kwestionariusza możesz śmiało zadzwonić do mnie (Delali Badasu) pod numerem 492-4158 (uniwersytet) lub 438-6042 (dom) lub do prof. L.A. Kosińskiego 492-3287 lub 492-0341 (uniwersytet).